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THE SIEGE OF COLCHESTER

To-day is the three-hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the Siege of Colchester, which lasted nearly 11 weeks before the Royalist forces surrendered for lack of food and ammunition. The Mayor of Colchester writes that it is proposed to hold in Colchester Castle Museum an exhibition of arms, armour, books, manuscripts, prints, and other things illustrating the siege. He asks for the loan of suitable exhibits, especially diaries, letters, and so forth which might add to what is known about the event.

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Death of Sir Chal. Lucas, by Sir Geo. Lisle, 28 Aug. 1648.

St. 1177, B. 1177

THE
History and Description
OF
COLCHESTER,

(THE CAMULODUNUM OF THE BRITANS, AND THE
FIRST ROMAN COLONY IN BRITAIN,)

WITH
AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES

of that most ancient

Borough.

VOL. I.

COLCHESTER:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY W. KEYMER;

Sold also by Messrs. ROBINSONS, Paternoster-Row, London.

1803.

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surround him, has no other way to extricate himself, than either to overleap, or cut a path through his wanderings, and at once escape the labour and difficulty of a right judgment. Many however, so far from having a desire to pursue any method whereby they may liberate themselves from the prison of obscurity, are enamoured with its gloom; which if not deep enough, they either thicken by artificial means, or retire to more impenetrable recesses. The history of but few places are exempt from doubts and uncertainties in the early periods of time; and that of Colchester is not without its proportionable share. But that this must have been a situation considerable to the Roman people, if not to the British, is clearly evident: for the earth daily brings forth the most incontestable proofs of its antient inhabitants. Urns, pavements and coins are hourly turned up by the plough or spade, wherever the eye is directed Rome presents itself, and the ramparts and vast intrenchments which extend even to the sea, bear unfeigned testimony of antient grandeur.

The

The habitations of men, during the early ages of pastoral simplicity, were chose where the few wants of nature could be most abundantly supplied. Hence they wandered wherever the beauty of the scene caught their eye, and the shelter of the wood and dryness of the soil made comfortable their temporary dwellings. Having no other enemy than the elements, or any dangers to fear, but what might arise from the incursions of wild beasts, it is not strange that their most permanent residings should be on eminences sufficiently elevated above the torrent, and surrounded with wood, both for shelter from the winds and that a security might easily be formed against the nightly depredations of the wild inhabitant of the forest. But when dangers from other quarters sprung up around, and assailed them in all the horrid forms of war, then it was deep intrenchments were formed, and the rampart arose high for defence. Hence as danger increased, so increased the stability of residence, and an end was put to the wandering of tribes. Existence then depended upon inventions for defence, and the

urgings of necessity with frequent want ripened their inventions. In those rude periods then arose the British town, and sharpened stakes planted around gave an unknown security. Brass and iron were at first scarcely known by the inhabitants of Britain, but frequent intercourse with the Phœnecians rendered the use of them general. By these people they were furnished with daggers and swords of brass, and the heads of arrows and spears: and when Cæsar by his own conduct taught them a more perfect system of defence; then arose walls, embattled towers and mighty camps.

During these successive gradations what situation could be so eligible on every account as that in which Colchester is placed. Upon an eminence boldly rising from the north and east, its inhabitants enjoyed the variety of an extended view, with a dry soil; and to an elevation above the mist and vapours of the half surrounding valley, they had the additional advantages that no enemy could make an unperceived approach on those

those sides, nor advance without the hazard of an easy repulsion. To render the approaches on the south and west equally difficult to invaders, vast works and intrenchments were formed, effectually to prevent any attempts, either openly to conquer, or assault by surprize the inhabitants of the small district they had enclosed, and of which Colchester was, as it were, the capital. These works, whether formed by the labours of the Britans or Romans, convey the most ample satisfaction of the importance of the place secured, and point out the consequence of its possession to have been considerable. Such great and visible evidences, as these may be called, are no where else so abundant; and one who seriously has mused over the whole scene, and formed his mind to a right understanding of the subject, cannot but receive a forcible impulse towards believing that the antient state of Colchester has not been fabled.

It is these external evidences of its antiquity, joined with the testimony gathered from antient authors, that have induced the learned

to give it the appellation of Camulodunum : a city in its time one of the largest in Britain, and the capital of the Trinobantes. The coins of Cunobiline, of which more have been discovered here, than in all the other parts of Britain together, point out this to have been his residence ; and, after him, it may be presumed, at least occasionally, of succeeding Trinobantian kings.

Before the invasion of Cæsar, the early inhabitants of Britain, secluded from the rest of the world, and surrounded by a coast abounding in shelves and dangerous quicksands, had few, if any enemies, to disturb their tranquillity. The perils of an inhospitable shore, and the valour of an incensed enemy, had terrors not to be encountered. But with Cæsar, and the greatness of the Roman mind, these were no obstacles ; for embarking his soldiers and passing from Gaul, he soon landed in Britain. Then it was that the courage of Cassibellaun, king of the Trinobantes, and the desperate valour of the Britans, were opposed to the steady conduct of Cæsar, and the

the experience of the Roman host. The contests which arose were stern and bloody, and victory a long time kept aloof, as if in suspense. Cæsar overcame, and after receiving hostages, retreated to Gaul. The following year he made a second expedition, and pursuing the advantages he gained over the Britans, crossed the Thames, which was fordable with great difficulty only in one place, and entered the confines of Cassibellaun's kingdom. Here he received embassadors from the Trinobantes, who with offers of submission, requested that Mandubratius, the son of Imanuentius, might be appointed their king and governor. Cæsar granted their request, and the Trinobantes to ingratiate themselves with him, gave him intelligence that the capital of Cassibellaun, 'was but at a small distance. Fortified by nature with woods and marshes, and surrounded with a ditch and rampart, it was thought by the Britans to be impregnable. Cæsar assailed this strong hold in two places at the same time; and the enclosed Britans, not being able to sustain the regular attack of the

Roman legions, fled by an unguarded outlet: leaving their cattle, in which consisted their chief riches, a prey to the conquerors. Cassibellaun reflecting on his many losses, how his country was laid waste, and that several provinces had forsaken the general alliance and submitted to Cæsar, sent ambassadors to treat of a surrender. Hostages were demanded, and Cæsar departed for Gaul: appointing a yearly tribute to be paid by the Britans, and strictly prohibiting Cassibellaun from injuring Mandubratius, or the Trinobantes.

The difficulty of keeping a large force, at such a distance from the seat of empire, as well as the hazard and danger of the expedition, together with the continual distractions arising in the Roman state, freed the Britans from the incursions of the Romans; and the tribute which Cæsar had imposed upon them, was a composition paid with alacrity while it secured them from such troublesome visitors. The Trinobantes remained under the government of Mandubratius, who had been placed by Cæsar

Cæsar in the throne of his ancestor. The succession of kings of the ancient British line was uninterrupted notwithstanding the conquest of Cæsar; and upon the death of ^{A.C.} Mandubrutius, Tenuant, his brother, possessed himself of the Trinobantian throne. 45.

The Roman name and power had now become familiar to the Britans, and they were sufficiently enlightened to discern their own inferiority. Excited by a spirit of emulation, and a desire of attaining the refinements of Roman manners, as well as a knowledge of that people whose victories had extended even over his own kingdom, Cunobiline, the son of Tenuant, yet a youth, ventured to Rome, and pursued his inquiries even in the camp of Augustus. Returning to Rome with that emperor, he was publicly saluted by the name of friend of the common-wealth. The curiosity of the Roman people no doubt was excited, to behold one whom they esteemed as living in a place disjoined from the rest of the world, more particularly as in Cunobiline they beheld the nephew of that Cassibellaun, who

who had so resolutely and firmly withstood the Roman eagles.

It was during this residence that Cunobiline attained a knowledge of the Roman arts, which upon his accession to the throne of his father, in imitation of his great example in Augustus, he employed to convey his name and dignity to posterity. He coined abundance of gold, silver, and brass; and although the kings of Britain who lived before him might have done the same, yet those of Cunobiline are the first in which is to be discerned the delicacy and relieve of the Roman sculpture. As for this purpose he must have retained artists of that nation, it is more than probable that he was accompanied to Britain by others as well skilled in what his long residence amongst that polished people, taught him were the more necessary and useful arts of life. It is presumed, that he was the first to array his soldiers after the Roman manner; as the armed heads and soldiers so often represented on his coins, give room to conjecture. The art of agriculture, if not first introduced

introduced by him among the Britans, received from the knowledge he had acquired considerable improvement. Ears of corn, symbolic of that event, are frequently the impress which the reverse of his coins received. Under a monarch possessed with an extensive genius, and whose early life was spent in the acquirement of whatever might be useful to his people, the Britans received encouragement, and rapidly emerged from their antient barbarism.

Camulodunum then from its uncouth and rude state, reared its head in the beauty of the Roman architecture, and changed its rustic garb, for the civilized dress of a refined nation. What Orpheus had been in the early ages to the Greeks, Cunobiline was to the Britans; and it is with distinguished propriety that he is venerated as the first reformer of our barbarous manners.

The fear and subjection Cæsar had left the Britans in at his departure, now, from the long absence of the Romans, and the improvement,

provements introduced by Cunobiline, began to wear away. They became as men whose minds being enlightened, disdained the servility of their condition; and the tribute which hitherto had been constantly paid was withheld. Augustus with a powerful army approached the Gallic coast, and was preparing to embark for Britain; when Cunobiline, by the policy of a timely submission, warded off the effects of his anger. Thus pacified, Augustus, mindful of the antient friendship that existed between them, renewed their affection by tokens of esteem; Cunobiline at the same time calling the Roman gods by offerings made to them in the capital, to witness his sincerity,

A.D. Upon the decease of Cunobiline, his son
^{42.} Guiderius, (who is also called Togodumnus) succeeded to the government of the Trinobantes. Claudius Drusus being then emperor of Rome, entertained and protected several of the Britans whose seditious behaviour had obliged to fly their native country. On this occasion ambassadors were sent to demand

demand them, that they might receive due punishment, but Claudius not complying with the demand, of the embassadors, the usual tribute was again withheld by the Britans. Enraged by this, Claudius gave orders to A. Plautius, an experienced general, to embark an army for Britain; not a little urged thereto by the insinuations of the fugitives, who represented to him with what ease he might become the conqueror of Britain. Plautius on his arrival, with some difficulty found and defeated Guiderius, who, with such ^{A.D.} 43. of his forces as the sword had spared, retreated towards the mouth of the Thames. Here, 44. passing over by such flats and shallows as were easily fordable and well known to the Britans, Guiderius thought to have secured himself from the pursuit of the Romans, and to have found an asylum in Camulodunum, till a fortunate opportunity occurred, of again asserting his independence. But Plautius with the Roman legions, traced with great hazard and danger the footsteps of the retreating Britan. The Germans who were expert at such warfare swam over, and others of the soldiery

foldiery passing by a bridge hastily thrown across the river, a small distance above, suddenly attacked the wearied Britans on all sides with great destruction. Guiderius defending himself valiantly was slain, and, left the remains of his shattered army should be disheartened by a knowledge of their loss; Arviragus, his brother, clothed himself in the dress and armour of Guiderius, and assuming his dangerous station, with renewed courage assailed the Roman host. Arviragus by this stratagem not only preserved the few remaining Britans, but nearly effected the discomfiture of Plautius: for in the heat of the pursuit, many of the Romans, mistaking their ground, became entangled among bogs, and fell a sacrifice to the despair of the Britans.

A.D. 45. The death of Guiderius instead of intimidating the Britans, inspired them with fresh courage; and that they might effectually revenge his loss by the extermination of the Roman army, new forces were raised in every province with which the Trinobantes were in league.

league. Plautius apprehensive of the danger that darkened around and threatened him on every side, informed the Emperor of his situation. Securing therefore his conquests, he waited the arrival of Claudius, who, with a large army, soon landed in Britain, and joining his forces with Plautius and Vespasian passed the Thames. The Britans posted on the opposite bank resolutely sustained the onset, and bravely encountered the Romans; but finding themselves unable to maintain a contest with such a powerful foe, after considerable loss, fled into the adjacent woods.

Claudius taking advantage of his victory, before the dispersed and terrified Britans had time to collect themselves together, either for counsel or defence; proceeded to Camulodunum, the royal seat of the late king Cunobiline: wisely judging that this once assailed and taken, would discourage as well as prevent the Trinobantes from attempting any further commotion. By the recent defeat of the Britans, Claudius took possession of Camulodunum with little or no opposition; and

and finding it a situation naturally strong, and the security of it, of the utmost consequence to his future success, thought it expedient to place a colony of Roman veterans therein; thereby effectually preventing the Britans from regaining what he had so happily won. Selecting therefore from his army the second, ninth, and fourteenth legions, which were stiled by way of honour, the conquerors of Britain; he appointed them to found the colony, and possess themselves of the adjacent country.

On this occasion neither pomp or ceremony were omitted; but yoking together an ox and a cow, and clothing themselves after the Sabine fashion, they proceeded to mark out the foundation of the walls of the new colony. The ox as the symbol of strength being placed without, and the cow on the inner side, and fastened to a plough, a furrow was drawn, so as that the earth should fall inwards, around the intended city; lifting up the plough only in those places where it was designed the gates should be.

To

To commemorate this event, medals were struck, on the reverse of which the above ceremony was represented; and that the city, thus founded anew, might have a proper epithet it received the appellation of Colonia, and occasionally for distinction of Colonia Camulodunum.



That nothing might be left unperformed, which might be the means of preserving the colony from destruction; vast works were constructed to the westward of it, extending from the sea to the river* which divided the Trinobantes from the Iceni. This probably the military skill and prudence of Plautius

* The river Stour which divides Essex from Suffolk.

suggested ; for, as from hence he was to begin his career of conquest over the yet unsubdued Britans, he wisely provided for whatever reverse of fortune the uncertainty of war might give him to experience: thus by one operation, securing the infant colony, and providing an asylum against the time of necessity. The wisdom of this measure could only be exceeded by the extensive utility of it, for besides these purposes he gained the additional advantage of a safe retreat to an island,* impregnable to the Britans, where he could securely rest till he received succour from the continent.

After establishing this colony, Claudius reduced the adjacent country into the form of a province, depriving the Britans of their antient government and liberties, and making them subject to a Roman governor who was stiled *Pro-prætor*, and to the payment of such taxes as the Senate should impose. He also ordered them to be disarmed, confiscating the goods of the most obstinate and refractory ;

* The island of Mersea.

but

but to those that yielded he gave encouragement and protection.

For this victory, Claudius was, contrary to the usual custom, several times saluted *Imperator*. Anniversary games were instituted, in some of which were represented the taking and plundering of Camulodunum, and the British kings submitting to the Roman victor. Triumphal arches were also erected by the Senate both at Rome and Gessoriacum,* and a magnificent triumph decreed the emperor; to whose name they made the honourable addition of Britannicus, as a testimony of his conquest.

Plautius being appointed by Claudius, to be *Pro-prætor*, or governor of his newly acquired province, established his residence in Camulodunum, at that time the Roman emporium, and the resort of men skilled in every polite or useful art. The royal palace of Cunobiline, yet standing, was an ornament

* Bologne in France,

to the new colony, and the number of magnificent buildings were increased by the Romans. A council house and a tribunal were erected for the Roman magistrate, and that they might enjoy the refinements of scenical exhibitions, a theatre was constructed. The Roman veterans worn with toil and the warfare of a military life, in the ardour of gratitude for these unusual enjoyments, adored their benefactor; and, as a token of their veneration, erected a temple to his honour. Such of the Britans to whom Claudius had shown lenity and favour, and that they might ingratiate themselves with their Roman associates, also urged the same measure. An altar was reared to the emperor, thus elevated above mortality, and he was invoked as the tutelar deity and protector of Camulodunum. It may be presumed that temples to the Roman deities were likewise erected, and that baths and other places of public utility were not unknown.

48. According to the directions of Claudius, Plautius prosecuted the war against the unsubdued Britans with vigour, and extended his

his conquests towards the western extremity of the isle, but being recalled by Claudius, P. Ostorius Scapula was appointed to command the Roman army, and to be *Pro-prætor* of Britain. The unsubdued natives taking advantage of this opportunity, and of the ignorance of Ostorius, made terrible inroads into the Roman province. Led by the intrepid Caractacus, the son of Cunobiline, it was long ere the Silures,* were brought under the Roman yoke. To effectuate this, the veteran legions of the new colony at Camulodunum, were drawn from thence; and, with the most experienced of the Roman army, stationed to prevent the incursions of the Britans, and to keep good order and discipline in the newly acquired conquests.

As the Romans increased the bounds of their province, so increased their want of soldiers on whom they could rely, it is not therefore probable that the legions drawn from the colony, were permitted to return. By thus desiring more than their grasp could contain,

* The inhabitants of South Wales.

the Romans were in danger of losing all they possessed, for while they were extending their conquests among the Silures, the Iceni and Trinobantes not being under awe of the legions at Camulodunum, found an opportunity of throwing off the Roman yoke, which they did not neglect embracing.

A.D. Claudius being dead, and Nero his successor in the imperial dignity, having appointed Suetonius Paulinus to be *Pro-prætor* of Britain, while that general was earnestly employed in the conquest of Anglesea, the residence and holy seat of the Druids, as well as the asylum of the harassed Britans, the Iceni began to revolt: having sufficient cause thereto, in the tyranny and inhumanity of the Romans.

The Iceni not having yet composed a part of the province, were governed by their own king; and, although they had submitted to the *Pro-prætor*, considered more as allies, than a conquered people. Prasutagus their king, having left the emperor, coheir with his

his two daughters to his wealth and dignity, hoping thereby to secure his family from insult, gave occasion to the Roman procurator* to seize upon whatever he pleased, and to his centurions and officers an opportunity of committing whatever outrages their licentiousness prompted them to. The indignity, Boadicea the wife of Prasutagus, received, as well as the inhuman violence done to her two daughters, highly incensed the Iceni, and the thorn which rankled in the heart of the injured queen, was, by the manly behaviour of her people, soon planted in the Roman breast. The Trinobantes likewise oppressed, groaned under the insolence of their tyrants. Expelled by violence from their houses, and dispossessed of their lands, their complaints received no other redress than the language of contumely and reproach. The appellation of captive and slave, so harsh to men unaccustomed to servitude, were liberally bestowed upon the insulted Britans; to which behaviour, such of the veterans as remained, were not a little stimulated by the younger foldiers; who, that

* The receiver of the emperor's revenue.

they might not want an example and precedent when they should chuse to exercise the same tyranny, gave encouragement and support to every excess that was committed. Roused from the depression and torpidity, accumulated sufferings had brought them to, the Trinobantes regarded the temple erected to Claudius, at Camulodunum, as the badge and Palladium of an eternal dominion, and the demands that were made for its support, by the priests and others officiating therein, as a cause that would eventually consume their estates, and reduce them to poverty and want. Catus Decianus, the procurator, also, that he might not be behind hand with the rest, renewed the confiscation of their goods, and although the Trinobantes pleaded the remittment thereof by Claudius, and the temple for that purpose erected to his clemency, it availed but little with men whose minds were bent to acquire whatever their intemperance suggested. Thus, instead of ingratiating themselves, and subduing the untamed spirit of the Britans, by the well grounded policy of a lenient government, the Romans left no opportunity

opportunity of oppression uneffayed; and gave the Trinobantes as well as the Iceni cause to consider the colony as an evil, that, until its final extirpation, would be the means to prevent their enjoying either their lives or properties in security. Neither did it seem an arduous task to accomplish its overthrow; for the Romans consulting pleasure and magnificence more than utility, had neglected to erect a fort or citadel, either for awe, or as a security in sudden danger, and the vastness of the works constructed when the colony was first planted, could be but ill defended, by such a small number of soldiers as it then contained. Considering this as the only propitious time that might ever offer of effectually avenging themselves, the Iceni and Trinobantes were not long in deliberating what measures to pursue, or slow in executing what they determined; but associating with them such of the Britans as possessing an unconquered spirit sighed for their antient freedom and independence, they hastily grasped their arms, and arrayed themselves for the slaughter. Then began fear and superstition
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to smite upon the Roman heart, and assail the mind with horror. The fatal consequences of impending vengeance were ushered in by fearful signs; to the Romans pregnant with terror and dismay, but to the Britans filled with the presages of victory and success. It was fabled that the statue of victory which had been set up at Camulodunum, of its own accord fell down, with its back turned, as if it would pass to the enemy. Women, with hair dishevelled and loosened garments, in a frantic rage and extasy prophetically sung that destruction was at hand. Dismal noises were heard in the council house, and howlings resounded in the theatre. In the estuary of the Thames, the subversion of the colony was frightfully presaged. The ocean assumed a bloody aspect, and when it retired in the ebb, effigies of human bodies were discerned imprinted in the sand. In the midst of the consternation occasioned by these prodigies, the Britans, like a vast torrent overflowing its banks, bent their course against the devoted colony. The Romans roused from stupor began to look around for aid, and,

and, as Suetonius their *Pro-prætor* was far distant, implored help of Catus Decianus, who, dispatched to their succour about two hundred men, and those neither trained or well armed. By such an insufficient force, the soldiers were but little benefited, and finding themselves incapable of defending the colony, retired into the temple, as the only place, that from its sanctity and strength could afford them any protection. Even there relying more upon the mercy and clemency of the Britans than in walls or intrenchments, they added no works of defence for greater security, but waited the issue of an assault they were unable to oppose or withstand. Led by the incensed Boadicea, the Britans swept all before them; marking their course no less by fire, than by the terrible destruction and slaughter of their enemies. Camulodunum, the hated seat of Roman tyranny was soon overwhelmed in its own ruins, and the labours of an age in a short space levelled with the dust. The temple of Claudius in which the soldiers had sought an asylum, was after a feeble resistance of two days,
taken

taken by the victorious Britans, and notwithstanding its sumptuousness razed to the foundation. The Britans who had long borne the insolence of the Romans, gave a loose rein to their anger, and suffered it to rage with uncontrollable sway; sparing neither age, sex, or condition. Ignorant of the destruction that had already fallen upon the colony, Petilius Cerialis, lieutenant of the ninth legion, with what force he could collect was advancing to the aid of the Romans, but meeting the Britans in the career of their victory, was hastily overthrown with the loss of two thousand men. Cerialis with the horse of his legion, escaped the general slaughter, and sought a security in his camp, where by the assistance of the fortifications, he defended himself till the arrival of Suetonius. Catus the procurator finding himself the cause, by his exorbitant and covetous demands of the calamity and destruction that had fallen upon Camulodunum, and of all the miseries that would ensue both upon the Britans as well as the Romans, not able to abide the coming of Suetonius, fearfully fled into Gaul.

Suetonius,

Suetonius, passing through London, then inconsiderable in respect both of strength and consequence to Camulodunum, hastened into the midst of the revolted province, where with an army of not more than ten thousand men, he resolutely advanced to encounter the Britans, whose force amounted to two hundred and thirty thousand. Suetonius, that he might not be encompassed by the Britans, chose for his station, a place accessible only by one narrow passage, and defended in the rear by a wood. Here drawing up his legion close in the centre; the light armed soldiers on both sides, and his horse on each wing, he waited the attack of the Britans, whose army, divided into small squadrons, were unskilfully arranged upon a large plain in the front. Boadicea, that the Britans might be stimulated to exert themselves, and by a decisive blow effectually crush the Roman host, as well as their future hopes of dominion, ascended a chariot with her daughter; and, passing along the ranks of her army, reminded her people of the injuries done to her family,

family, and to themselves. Animated by the presence as well as the discourse of the dishonoured queen, the Britans fatally secure of victory, began the assault with fury; little heeding the order and regularity of a determined courage. Suetonius, keeping his legion close, sustained the onset, and continued firm and unmoved; till seizing the opportunity when the Britans had spent their darts, and their fury began to abate, he rushed in a compact and weighty body upon them as they recoiled. Then began the Romans to avenge the destruction of Camulodunum, and the slaughter of their countrymen: for the Britans confident of victory had placed around the field their wives and families in chariots to be spectators of what they thought they were so secure of gaining, and to enjoy the ruin that seemed ready to fall upon Suetonius, and his people. This circumstance worked the total destruction of the Britans, and they little thought that while they were preparing to rejoice in the overthrow of their enemies, they were providing for their own confusion. Enclosed on every side by what
in

in the general dismay were insurmountable barriers, they could neither fight or escape. The carnage was dreadful, and the women and children unprotected fell victims to the merciless rage of the Romans, and increased the numbers of the dead; nay so unbounded was the fury of the Romans that even the horses were slaughtered, that destruction might be complete. On this occasion, it was computed no less than eighty thousand of the Britans perished, while the loss of the Romans was about four hundred men.

Thus completely subdued, the Britans were compelled to assume the yoke of slavery they had thrown off; and as they had during the time of their insurrection neglected the task of agriculture, a terrible famine ensued, which destroyed near as many as had fallen by the sword.

It is to be highly presumed, that the Romans, after the defeat of the Britans, did not neglect to re-edify the destroyed colony, particularly

ticularly as the same reasons existed for their choosing it as their chief station, as induced Claudius originally to establish it. Whether the magnificence of the destroyed colony was equalled by the fabrications of the new, is unknown; there is no doubt but that it was more extensive, as the security of a large military force, continually resident in the province, must have removed the most distant apprehensions of danger. The walls made by Claudius, as well as the more antient buildings erected by the Britans, were of too substantial a construction to be hastily destroyed; and their use to the conquerors might in a great measure ensure them from demolition. The extent of the new colony seems to have been more in the suburban buildings than in any increase of the antient site: as the coins of the Roman emperors after that period, discovered among the foundations which surround the walls to a considerable distance, give room to conjecture.

The harsh behaviour of Suetonius to the vanquished Britans for a while prevented that progress

progress the Roman manners would otherwise have made; and gave rise to such diffensions as ended in the recal of Suetonius, and the appointment of Petronius Turpillianus to ^{A.D.} 63. the *Pro-prætorship* of Britain.

To the death of Nero, and during the short reigns of Galba and Otho, the Britans harrassed by their late discomfitures willingly resigned themselves to a state of quietude; nor did the contests of Vitellius and Vespasian for the dominion of the Roman world, induce them to renew their attempts at independence, or draw them to engage in the designs of either: more than to declare their submission to Vespasian, whom, as commander of the second legion under Claudius, they had long before known and esteemed.

No sooner was Vespasian quietly established in the imperial dignity, than his first care was to secure Britain by the appointment of an able General to the government of it. Petilius Cerialis, and after him Julius Frontinus, both men of great military skill, ex- ^{71.} ^{73.} ^{75.}
D tended

A.D. tended the bounds of the province; but it
 81. was left to their successor Julius Agricola, to carry the Roman Eagles to the extreme verge of Britain, and by the encouragement and example he afforded, to tame and soften the fierce and hardy natives, unacquainted through ages with the benefits of civilization.

By this extension of the Roman province, and the consequent erection of other colonies, Camulodunum although in some degree bereft of its ancient consequence and dignity, yet retained whatever its situation gave it originally a claim to; and, as it possessed the advantages of an early civilization, and a security unknown to many other of the Roman stations in Britain, it did not quickly abate of being the city of refinement, the capital, and the strong fortrefs of the Roman people.

It is not therefore wonderful that in all the efforts made by the Britans for the defence and recovery of their liberty, the inhabitants of Camulodunum, as well as the adjacent country,

country, should remain peaceful and undisturbed; and, while the standard of freedom was displayed upon the extreme bounds of the province, that those who resided securely and at ease in the midst of it, smit with the novelty of a luxurious life, should not be in haste to aid the destruction of men who initiated in such pleasurable habits.

The reign of Domitian after the departure of Julius Agricola from the *Prætorship* of Britain, was barren of good, both to the Britans and Romans; nor did the time in ^{A.D.} which Nerva and Trajan hold the imperial ⁹⁴ ₉₆ dignity, become pregnant with events that tended either to shake or confirm the Roman power. However, as soon as Hadrian assumed the purple, the Caledonians made inroads into the province, and the Britans a little awakened from their stupor, shewed an inclination to give them assistance. This the ¹²⁰ timely arrival of Hadrian prevented, who constructed a rampart or wall of earth, faced with thick planks, and extended it from Solway Firth eighty miles to the opposite coast;

coast; thereby for a while putting bounds to that spirit which he found himself unable to subdue.

There is great probability that in these expeditions to Britain, Camulodunum was not neglected, but received the visits and encouragement of the emperors; and that in their progress either to or from Rome it should for awhile arrest their attention and curiosity: particularly as being the antient residence of Cunobiline, and the first established colony of the Romans. Upon occasion of these imperial visits, it may be imagined the colony took fresh growth; and, as plants moistened with a genial shower, assume a brighter verdure, so did pomp and public festivity throw a gleam of content and pleasure over that place which was conscious of the presence and favour of its protector.

Hitherto these visits must have been frequent, and as frequent gladness must have
 A.D. 136. enlivened the inhabitants. Antoninus Pius, upon his accession to the empire, in some measure

measure to satisfy them for his absence, granted them and the rest of South Britain, the privilege of citizens of Rome; and appointed Lollius Urbicus to the *Pro-prætorship*; who by means of a new rampart upon the frontier, compelled the unquiet Caledonians to remain within the boundaries of their own country.

It had been customary from political as well as benevolent motives, for the Romans to interfere in the education of the sons of the British kings; and such of them as had been subdued, or with whom they were in league, readily intrusted their children to be instructed in the laws of the Roman empire, and initiated in the arts and refined manners of the Roman people. For this purpose they were sent into Gaul, and not unfrequently to Rome, from whence they returned stript of their barbarism, and accomplished in the dress, manners, and language of their assiduous instructors. To these men thus trained and educated the emperors readily confirmed the dominion of their fathers; and by the

confidence they placed in them, ensured their gratitude as well as engaged the Britans under their government more firmly to the Roman interest.

It is at this period that Coel, following the footsteps of his predecessor Cunobiline, with the ardour of a generous mind hastened for instruction in his early youth to Rome. Returning thence well informed in the sciences, and in warlike discipline, and in high estimation and respect with the Romans, he took upon him the government of a considerable part of Britain, of which it has been conjectured Colonia-Camulodunum, or, to use the British appellation, Cair-Colun, was the seat of power.

After the death of Coel, the succession was continued in his son Lucius, who, from his embracing the doctrines of christianity, received the surname of Lever-maur, or the great light. As the christian religion had not yet become the religion of Rome, it may be well imagined a colony peopled by men exercising the

the established rights of paganism, was not the most eligible situation for a governor, professing opinions that were odious and disagreeable to the Romans. It is therefore believed that Lucius established his residence elsewhere in the province; and in a place where he might exercise his own religion without offence to others of a different persuasion.

The reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, of Commodus, of Helvius Pertinax, and of Didius Julianus passed away, and it was not 'till the Roman army in Britain elected Clodius Albinus emperor, that any commotions were incited. For Septimius Severus having received the like dignity from the Roman army in Pannonia, endeavoured by the arts of treachery and cowardice to assassinate his antagonist; in which design not meeting with the expected success, he advanced against him with the utmost expedition. Albinus gathering the chief of the British force, passed into Gaul; and, meeting Severus, resigned,

after a severe conflict, his life, and pretensions to the Roman empire.

A.D. 203. Severus, experiencing in the difficulties of the defeat of Albinus, the strength of the British province; like a politician who would prevent the future growth of a similar danger, wisely divided the government of it: allotting the southern part of Britain to Heraclitus, and the northern to Virius Lupus. Thus divided, the Caledonians became superior to the force that was ordered for their restraint, and renewed their sallies with a vigour that received continual nourishment by repeated success. In this extremity Lupus requested the aid of Severus, who with his sons Bassianus and Geta, and a numerous army, hastily arrived in Britain, and as hastily encountered the Caledonians. The conflicts that ensued were severe; and the emperor, after losing fifty thousand of his best soldiers, found it expedient to abandon the idea of totally reducing that part of the island. Constructing therefore upon Hadrian's

drian's rampart, which was now become ruinous and insufficient to restrain the Caledonians, a wall of stone of great height and thickness*; he finished his expedition in Britain, and his life soon after; leaving his two sons to receive from the Roman senate and people those honours he had laboured to acquire.

Bassianus, who afterwards assumed the ^{A.D.} name of Antoninus, and his brother Geta,²⁰⁹ hastened soon after the death of Severus, to taste the luxuries of Rome: neglecting what ought to have been their first care, the forts, garrisons, and colonies established, and hitherto maintained in Britain at a vast expence of blood and treasure.

This neglect of the two young emperors, seemed an omen and fatal example of what was to ensue. The little regard that seems to have been given to the province in Britain

* This wall, the remains of which yet exist, was eight feet in thickness, twelve in height, and sixty-eight miles, three furlongs in length.

tain by Antoninus, was imitated by those that succeeded to the empire; till in the event, the governors they appointed put a period to their unconcern, by taking imperial state upon themselves.

The custom of appointing Britans to the government of particular districts in the province had not yet ceased. Policy as well as justice might equally demand a continuance of what was beneficial to the interests of both nations. The district of which Colonia-Camulodunum was the chief station, had been placed under the dominion of Coel, the second of that name; who probably perceiving the inattention of the emperors, and finding others intrusted with the care of the chief stations and colonies, assuming independence; secured, in the general seizure, what his grasp could contain.

A.D.
238.

The long neglect of the emperors had been attended with other consequences, no less disagreeable. Ruin and decay had already begun to break down and level the buildings
and

and magnificent structures of the Romans, This progress of devastation, Coel laboured to subdue; and when the task was completed, as a memorial of his toil, gave to the colony the appellation of Kayr-Coel.

Thus re-edified, it became his capital, and a place of security against the disorders that raged around. As the means of perpetuating this security, it is probable he became tributary to the usurpers of the Roman empire; and, as policy would dictate, associate with Him whose arms and good fortune seemed the most likely to ensure a permanency of dominion. Among these usurpers appears Carausius; who wanted neither skill or ambition to project and execute a conquest of the whole Roman empire. At this time, whatever security, and whatever advantage the other military stations and colonies in Britain gave to those who claimed a share in the empire; it is evident, their first object was the possession of the ancient capital of the province,—the city of Kayr-Coel*.

This

* It is to this circumstance attributed, that the coins of the

This step was not neglected by Carausius; the vicinity of such a station to the Roman provinces of Gaul and Batavia†, made it necessary to his present, as well as future designs. These, whatever they were, Allectus, the bosom friend and minister of Carausius, treacherously put a period to, by assassinating his benefactor, and assuming his dignity.

This treachery did not long remain unrevenged. Asclepiodotus encountering Allectus, deprived him of his life, and that station so unworthily acquired by perfidy; aiming also like him he destroyed, at no less than the possession of what Carausius held by policy and valour.

It was during the confusion of these events, that Constantius, great nephew of the emperor Claudius, with a powerful army, after reducing Spain to obedience, embarked for
Britain,

the British usurpers Victorinus, Posthumus, the two Tetrici, Marius, Carausius, and Allectus, are, in such large quantities, daily discovered in Colchester.

† Holland, the revenues of which he had seized,

Britain, to quiet the disorders that had for some time reigned throughout the province. Approaching Kayr-Coel, as the chief seat of revolt and sedition, and its king as the most warlike and powerful chief with whom he had to contend; and finding himself unable to attempt the assault of a place so well appointed, and so ably commanded; he surrounded the walls with his army, and began the formal operations of a siege. However vigorous Constantius might have been in the prosecution of this undertaking; the resistance that was made, effectually prevented his progress from being rapid: insomuch that what according to the accustomed success of the Roman arms ought to have been terminated in a few months, was procrastinated to an unusual length, and even then did not seem to approach a termination.

In the mean while a circumstance arose that at once eventually put a period to the siege, and secured Constantius to the friendship and alliance of Coel. Helena, the daughter of Coel, was eminently conspicuous for the endowments

dowments of her mind and person. To a beautiful form, nature had joined a mind susceptible of every improvement; and, as far as the events then impending gave leave, no opportunities of improvement were omitted. Every polite and elegant art was the object of her pursuit, and she rested not in her acquirements till she became the most accomplished woman in Britain. Constantius having beheld this ornament of the British people, became violently enamoured; and sought every means of attaining the possession of her he so much desired: Coel perceiving the time to arrive when he might commence a treaty with Constantius to the advantage of his people, and secure the Roman general to his interests, offered to submit to the force he had hitherto opposed, and acknowledge his dependence by an annual tribute; adding withall, what he knew would gain a ready acceptance, his daughter, the accomplished Helena, as a confirmation of his sincerity, and as the most effectual tie to secure the mutual interest of both nations.

These

These proposals being acceded to by Constantius, the marriage of Helena was celebrated in Kayr-Coel with suitable pomp; and hostages, more to comply with the usual form established upon such occasions than with the demands of necessity, were delivered to the Roman general for the performance of the treaty.

And now the time approached when Rome was to receive from Britain an emperor; and the christian religion, making yet but slow progress, a firm protector from the terrors of persecution. The birth of Constantine can be fixed with no such certainty as at this period; and no other place than Kayr-Coel, so lately by his father Constantius, re-united to the empire, can with any probability be named as the city where he first saw the light*.

As

* This circumstance, Necham, an ancient writer expresses thus;—

From Colchester there rose a starre,
The rayes whereof gave glorious light
Throughout the world, in climates farre;
Great Constantine Rome's emperor bright,

As yet, the dominions of Coel were but small, and the labours of Constantius scarcely commenced. Asclepiodotus after slaying Allectus, had possessed himself of the chief part of Britain. It is not improbable but that the united force of Constantius and Coel were directed against this usurper. However it might have been, the honour of his final overthrow has been given to Coel; who as the reward of his valour, and perhaps not a little by reason of his alliance to Constantius, was placed in the important station of governor of the whole British province.

Hitherto ambition had not displayed itself in the mind of Constantius, and his views were limited to the command and government of some of the provinces of Rome. The alliance he had formed with Coel, and the great power he had thereby acquired in Britain, probably first induced him to overleap the bounds of moderation, and extend his desires of sway. This did not escape the penetration and sagacity of Diocletian and his colleague Maximian; who, amid the com-
motions

motions that shook the empire, found it necessary to associate with them, two of the most active and experienced of their generals. Policy, no less than desert, dictating Constantius to be one of these, he received the title of Cæsar, and partook in the cares, the troubles, and the honours of imperial dominion. More firmly to assure the fidelity of Constantius to the persons of Maximian and Diocletian, he was persuaded, in repudiating Helena, to set aside his integrity, and consummate dishonourable nuptials with Theodora, the daughter-in-law of Maximian.

What effect this shame and disgrace unworthily portioned out to Helena, had upon Coel, is unknown: it is not unlikely but that he feigned an acquiescence in what he had no means of preventing; particularly, as he retained the government of Britain to an extreme old age, and resigned it but with his life. The partiality he had shewn for Kayr-Coel, had also the same duration; for after being his chief residence during a long reign of fifty-five years, it saw the last of

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his

his days, and afforded a receptacle to his ashes*.

A.D. 304. Diocletian and Maximian having resigned the empire, Constantius, to whose share the western provinces had been allotted, embarked at Gessoriacum for Britain, where arriving, he began the labour so often commenced by his predecessors;—the subduing the Caledonians.

306. In the midst of his progress he was interrupted by a sudden illness, which soon put a period to his days; and Constantine, the son

* Coel is thus, by Hardinge, commemorated in antique verse,—

“ Coell ruled the realme in law & peace full well
 “ That for his wit and vertuosite
 “ Able he was as chronicles could fele,
 “ To have ruled all the empyralte
 “ For right wesnesse, manhood, and moralte,
 “ A doghter had he, and none other heyre,
 “ Elyne that hyght farre passing good and fayre
 “ Buryed at Care-Colune he was his owne cytec.”—

Robert of Gloucester, in rhymes equally uncouth, celebrates this ancient British hero.

son of Helena, being then in Britain with his father, was saluted emperor by the army, and confirmed in his dignity by Maximian.

Helena, by this advancement of her son, resumed the state and honours she had been deprived of by her rival Theodora. The christian religion, which then began to be established in various parts of the world, found a powerful protector in Helena, who had embraced its doctrines. In the enthusiasm of zeal, she journeyed into Syria, and visited Jerusalem; where, it is feigned, she discovered the cross on which Christ died*.

It is scarce probable that Helena after her return from Syria, visited the city of her birth. Being far advanced in years when she commenced her journey, the infirmities of age permitted her only to reach Rome. It must therefore have been at an earlier period, that she founded in Kayr-Coel the

E 2

chapel

* It is to this circumstance attributed, that the arms of Colchester contain a cross between three crowns.

chapel which future ages called by her name. Had the erection of it been near the close of her life, when her zeal and power approached an equality, it is likely the structure would have been magnificent, the endowment liberal, and the fame and reputation of it more extended and permanent.

When the christian church had established itself in Rome, it became necessary that men properly qualified for the teaching and propagating its tenets, and also for protecting its votaries and temporal concerns, should be appointed to reside in every considerable city throughout the Roman empire. Britain, upon this occasion, was divided into no less than eighteen districts or sees, each of which received its archbishop, or bishop. Kayr-Coel, or as it was sometimes yet called, the city Colon, was one of these, and had its religious concerns under the care and inspection of a bishop*.

After

* Adelfius was bishop of the city Colon in 314, and present at the council of Arles,

After the death of Helena, Constantine^{A.D. 330.} removed the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople :—an event that worked a considerable change not only in Britain, but in all the western world subject to his power : for thus exposed by an unexperienced absence and neglect, it became the prey of every adventurer, wandering in the search of plunder.

It was thus with Britain, which then first began to feel the sharp sword of the invading Saxons. The Picts and Scots also, seizing the opportunity that offered, began to renew their ravages, and to over-run the whole province. The vicinity of the Saxon coast †, to the southern and eastern parts of Britain, made it an easy task for that people to renew and continue their invasions ; and as Kayr-Coel was conveniently situated for their purpose, they did not omit making it the scene of frequent hostilities.

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These

† Part of the coast of Holland and Flanders.

These evils were not remedied during the
 A.D. latter part of the life of Constantine; nor did.

337. Constantine his son, who upon the division
 of the empire, received Britain as part of his
 share, make the necessary exertions to pre-

343. vent the frequency of these attacks. As
 little was the performance of Constans, or of
 his brother Constantius; nor was it 'till

364. Theodosius arrived, whose good fortune was
 equal to his valour and conduct, that any
 effectual stop was put to the evils that had
 so long infested the country. The Picts,
 Scots, Franks, and Saxons, had then in small
 parties dispersed themselves throughout the
 province, to extend their rapine and plunder;
 and for the commission of every outrage the
 wanton cruelty of a lawless band could sug-
 gest. Theodosius soon after his arrival, sud-
 denly divided his army into small parties;
 and fell upon his enemies as they wandered
 about laden with spoil. Incumbered with
 their unjust gleanings, the destruction
 wrought upon them was complete, and laid
 the foundation of a security that promised to
 be

be durable. After obtaining these advantages, Theodosius directed his attention to the re-edifying, and thorough repair of the cities, castles, and garrisons, which from these invaders, had sustained no inconsiderable damage and ruin.

After putting things into this state, Theo-^{A.D.}
dofius was recalled, and the death of Valen-^{369.}
tinian, which happened soon after, involved^{374.}
the empire in new troubles. In Britain, Maximus assumed the title of emperor, and after securing the province, prepared to assail his antagonists.

The impolitic and fatal custom of filling up the vacancies of the Roman army from forces raised in Britain, had been established by the earlier emperors; and was now, for the last time, exercised by Maximus. This pernicious practice, by the opportunity it afforded, encouraged the Caledonians, as well as the Franks and Saxons in the frequency of their attacks, and now produced its final effect:—the utter ruin and overthrow, not

only of the Roman, but also of the British interest and power in the province. For after his departure from Gaul, with a powerful army selected from the most arduous and robust of the British youths; the Saxons, Picts, and Scots, renewed their accustomed insults; and not meeting with the restraint and punishment they had before received, established themselves in such part of the province, as seemed best calculated to afford them a security.

The rapid declension also of the Roman A.D. empire, not a little assisted the success of
 407. these invaders. In their distress, the Britons were compelled to elect themselves a king; who quickly perishing, was succeeded by others of as short a duration. Finding these means ineffectual, they again begged aid of the Romans; and Honorius, who then reigned, to rid himself of their importunities, and a territory he could neither succour or defend, finally resigned all pretensions to
 410. the dominion of Britain, and absolved its allegiance to the empire,

This

This event gave a new courage to the invaders, and redoubled the fears of the Britans. The Romans, with a noble and generous spirit, upon two occasions which ensued, sent a legion to their assistance; if possible, to save them from utter destruction: A.D. exhorting them at their departure, to enure 434 themselves to war, and boldly assert their independence.

Thus left to themselves, the Britans following their ancient custom, formed themselves into small governments, and elected a chief to preside over them, and lead them to battle. Of these, Vortigern was the first 445 to effect the overthrow of the Picts and Scots. For this purpose, he associated with him the Saxons, and gave them the isle of Thanet, as a place of security, in disembarking.

But a few years elapsed, ere the Saxons, aiming at the supreme dominion of Britain, turned their arms against those they were hired to defend. The eastern part of Britain,
in

in which is included the city of Kayr-Coel, was governed by Vortigern and his son Vortimer; and Kent, after a twenty years war, A.D. 477. remained with Hengist the Saxon general. This small district was not suited to the ambition of Hengist, who at a feast treacherously destroying the chief of the Britans, obtained in exchange for the liberty of Vortigern whom he had spared from slaughter, a large tract of country, which bordered upon his old dominion.

By this murderous scheme, Hengist acquired the possession of Kayr-Coel, and of all the advantages to be derived from a situation, so near to the Saxon coast. The river which flowed around the city, formed at its outlet into the sea, a capacious harbour, where the Saxon vessels might ride with safety; and gave Hengist the means of an easy communication with his own country. These as well as other advantages, as they escaped not the notice of the Romans, neither did they the penetration of the rapacious Saxon: but dividing his late acquired territories,

ritories, Hengist formed a district, to which he gave the name of East-Seaxe; and Kayr-Coel, surrounded with its camps, and strong walls, became the impregnable fastness of the Saxons.

This change of possession, naturally induced a change of name; and what had hitherto retained the name of Kayr-Coel, and Colon, became familiar to that of Colon or Colne-Ceaſter*. The form of government was alſo new modelled, and partook of the cuſtoms and legal inſtitutions of the Saxons.

The magnificent taſte of the Romans in their public as well as private buildings, could not be more contraſted than it was by that of the Saxons. As if at war with every convenience

* Formed from Coel, Colon, or Colonia; and the latin word Caſtra, ſignifying a caſtle, or gariſon. The word Caſtra being uſed by the Romans to expreſs any ſtrong hold, the Saxons finding it impoſed upon all places of ſtrength and importance, adopted it, and expreſſed it in their dialect by the word Ceaſter,

convenience of private life, they despised whatever necessity seemed not to require. Those structures which the cultivated and refined mind of the Roman produced spontaneously, were ill exchanged for the rude, mis-shapen, and stunted hovels of the Saxons. Fierce in war, and keen in the acquirement of possession, their minds were yet unfolded; nor had even agriculture, the first and most necessary art of life, received their serious attention.

Yet with all this degree of barbarism, a freedom unknown to more refined nations, was cherished by the Saxon government. As if the child of warfare, Liberty, should delight to spring up, and take a firm root amidst anarchy and confusion, and reside with such a turbulent race.

A.D. 527. It was this spirit of liberty, that probably induced Erchenwin, the son of Offa, to separate himself from the royalty established by Hengist, and erect for himself a kingdom which comprised the country of the East-Saxons,

Saxons, and extended to the ancient limits fixed to the Trinobantes. Of this kingdom, Colne-Ceaſter, and London were the chief cities, and alternately claimed to be its capital. This ſituation, while ſecurity, and goodneſs of ſituation were the chief objects of deſire, Colne-Ceaſter retained; but when trade and commerce began to be extended, and men thiſted after wealth, the advantages of a river flowing with ſuch depth as the Thames, quickly bereft every other place of a claim to preference.

The latter part of the long reign of Erchenwin, was probably ſpent in improving his new capital, and in regulating the affairs of his kingdom. Being a heathen, the chriſtians under his government, as well as ^{A.D.} that of Sledda who ſucceeded him, under-587. went continual perfecution. This terror purſued them 'till Sœbyrht, the ſon of Sled-604. da, was converted, by the diſcourſes of Auguſtine the Monk, to the chriſtian doctrine. The zeal and piety of Sœbyrht prompted him to erect the magnificent church

church and abbey of Thorney*, near London, which he had chosen for his capital; and to add to the see and dominion of its bishop, the religious jurisdiction of that of Colne-Ceaster, which he abolished.

A.D. 700. The little attention that seemed to have been given to Colne-Ceaster, by Sæbyrht, and those who succeeded to the throne of the East-Saxons, as well as the sudden increase of London in wealth and splendor, must have occasioned a decay as rapid, as was the elevation of its rival.

787. This neglect and decay fell not only upon Colne-Ceaster, but many other of the cities and chief places of security in Britain; and made them an easy prey to the Danish pirates who had began to infest the coasts.

823. At this period Britain was divided into seven provinces or kingdoms, each of which was governed by a chief, who assumed regal honours. Amongst these, the kingdom of East-Seaxe,

* What is now called Westminster-Abbey.

East-Seaxe, although small, ranked as one of the most consequence. Ecbyrht, whose ambition extended far beyond the bounds of any of these small provinces, formed a plan of conquest, and made his essay in that which was first established;—the kingdom of Kent. This being subdued, East-Seaxe submitted itself to the victorious Ecbyrht, and by adding a new vigour to his design, soon brought it to a completion.

Whether this uniting the several kingdoms of Britain under one head, occasioned a languor and feebleness in its active powers; or the Danes encouraged by the success they had met with in their former incursions, acquired greater boldness; is unknown. Their piracies which they renewed with greater force and effect, however, would induce a belief that their success was the result of both these causes. Their country extended not only over Denmark, but along some part of the coast of Norway and Holland; and this situation at the same time that it gave them experience and skill in maritime affairs, was convenient

venient for their expeditions to the coasts of Britain and Gaul. Their manners were fierce and savage, and their conquests stained by cruelty and rapine. Even when led to war by their kings, they seemed not to depart from their accustomed barbarism, but waged battle with the ferocity and desperation of wretches devoted to the slaughter.

After a series of years, which commenced and ended in blood, the Danes acquired a firm footing in Britain : establishing themselves in the strong holds which the Saxons, and before them the Romans, thought of the utmost consequence to their security, and the only effectual manacles to tame and keep in subjection the spirit of the Britans.

A. D. In the number of these strong holds, is
879. reckoned Colne-Ceaster, which Godrun, the Danish chief, secured to himself by a treaty with Ælfred ; and, by embracing christianity, rendered his government less odious to the Saxons as well as Britans.

Godrun

Godrun dying soon after; Ælfred, whose ^{A.D. 890.} schemes extended to the total extirpation of the Danes, took possession of his vacant territory, and fortified himself in the chief places of strength. In Colne-Cæster he placed Bertheolf, and created him earl of it; to dignify his command by a title, which should owe its continuance only to a vigilant exertion.

The Danes notwithstanding this, had yet places of strength in East-Seaxe. After landing forces in Kent, to collect their accustomed harvest, they navigated their vessels within the harbour of the river Colne *, there to await the arrival of the plunder. Ælfred pursuing his designs, laid ^{894.} hands upon the booty they had gathered, and wrought them so great a discomfiture, that they fled across the Thames towards their vessels; seeking for shelter in an island that lay at the mouth of the Colne †. The Danish chief being dangerously wounded in

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* At Brecklesey, according to Speed.

† The island of Mesea.

the late engagement, feared to embark: fortifying himself therefore as well as the time would permit, he remained blocked up by the forces Ælfred had drawn together for that purpose.

The strength of the island prevented Ælfred entering with his army; and another party of Danes having laid siege to Exeter, he was compelled to withdraw the chief of his forces from the island, and leave only a sufficient number to prevent incursions or escape.

The security this island afforded to the A.D. Danes, was the cause of their making it a frequent visit. For when Ælfred had pursued with rout and slaughter, a party of fugitive Danes, they fled to the island Merefige* in the river Colne, as a place that would give them effectual shelter. Here they embarked, and pursued their accustomed way of life in other parts of Britain: until Ælfred, finding they were to be quelled no other way, than by destroying

* Mersea,

stroying their vessels; constructed gallies, and encountered them to advantage upon their own element.

The death of Ælfred, which soon after A.D. ensued, occasioned the commencement of a ^{901:} new series of trouble. Æthelwald, the nephew of Ælfred, wishing to possess himself of the sovereignty of Britain, assembled an ^{904.} army of Danes and Normans. Landing with these in East-Seaxe, he quickly seized upon Colne-Ceaster, and the adjacent country; unable to withstand such a powerful enemy: but being defeated and slain the ensuing year, Edward, the son of Ælfred, received [the homage of the Danes residing at Colne-Ceaster, and established peace, which however was but of short duration.

The mixture of Britans, Romans, Saxons, and Danes, which composed the inhabitants of Colne-Ceaster, occasioned them to have little confidence in each other, and as little steadiness in their allegiance. The Danes, however, were the most to be feared, as be-

ing the last whom war had placed within its walls. To secure them, entrenched as they were in the bounds of a strong garrison, from A.D. a revolt; Edward encamped with a large 913. army at Maeldune †; and finding it a proper place to establish a garrison, that might act as a restraint upon the Danes in Colne-Ceaster, he soon after rebuilt and fortified it.

Having thus secured what otherwise might have become a refuge to the Danes, he began to put in execution the design he had formed of extirpating them. For this purpose he gathered together a large army, and laid siege to Colne-Ceaster; which, not being able to withstand the force brought against it, soon fell, by the weight and violence of the assault, into the hands of Edward. The Danes, who were the sole objects of vengeance upon this occasion, died by the joint sword of the Saxon and Britan; and the fury with which the slaughter commenced

† Maldon.

menced gave no opportunity of escape ; except to a very few, who desperately leaping over the walls, fled into East Anglia *.

The scheme which Edward had formed of expelling the Danes from Colne-Ceaster seems to have received mature deliberation, and to have been put in practice with much caution and skill. The fortifications he had constructed at Maeldune, served a double purpose, which the Danes in the extremity of their ill fortune could well perceive. They saw themselves blocked up from escape upon that side, and felt to their cost that it was from thence issued their annoyance. The spirit of revenge led them forth against it, with what force they could muster ; but this spirit was soon quelled by the numbers that assembled for its protection, and the Danes retired in disappointment, dismay, and disorder.

To confirm a work so happily accomplished, Edward placed an army of West

F 3

Saxons

* Suffolk and Norfolk.

Saxons within the city of Colne-Ceaster ; and, by repairing its walls, which had suffered great damage, secured it effectually from any future attempts of the Danes of East Anglia.

A. D.

993. Although more than seventy years had elapsed since their last overthrow at Mældune, the Danes seemed to have cherished their hatred against that place ; and landing at Gypeswic *, proceeded to execute their revenge. Colne-Ceaster being well fortified against all assailants, the Danes passed it by, and advanced towards Mældune ; where Byrhtnoth the ealdorman of King Æthelred, lay encamped. Byrhtnoth, at their approach, drew out his forces ; but the fury of the Danes bore down all resistance, and compelled Æthelred to accede to the terms of a dishonourable peace.

This however was but of short duration. The Danes renewed their barbarities, and Æthelred, to free himself from a people which

* Ipswich,

which he could neither trust nor civilize, ^{A.D.} formed a scheme for their total extirpation. ¹⁰⁰² This scheme, which was executed with unremitting fury and hatred, served but to rouse the vindictive spirit of the Danes; and it was not long ere they possessed themselves of Colne-Ceaster, and with it, the chief part of the country of the East Saxons.

Encouraged by this success, they soon found within their grasp, a considerable part of Britain; and staid not in pursuing their conquests, 'till the decisive battle of Assandune *, left them nothing more to desire. 1010

Thus subjugated to a cruel and rapacious enemy, the state of Britain needed not to be more desperate. The neglect of the Danish kings to every thing except what served to maintain a military fierceness, occasioned a barbarism and depravity that ended not but with the Norman conquest:—a period which now hastily approached.

F 4

The

* Ashdon, near Bartlow.

The debility occasioned by this frequent change of government, and by the intermixture of people who bore to each other irreconcilable hatred, aided the designs of William the Norman; who after the destruction of Harold and the English host at the battle
 A.D. 1066 of Hastings, seated himself on the throne of Britain.

This event instead of producing a change for the better, served but to rivet the decay that had long been preying upon the chief cities of Britain. For William, trusting more to the fidelity of his own countrymen, than to the local strength of any particular station; dealt out the possessions of the Saxons, to such of his Norman followers, as had been conspicuous either for valour or faithfulness. The extent and value of the districts portioned out upon this occasion, were very great; and conferred an authority, which had scarce any other boundary than the will of the possessor. To secure the duration of this authority, castles were erected;
 which

which also served to over-awe and keep in subjection the whole country. In these the Norman lords enjoyed a solitary dignity, and thence issued with the force of their territory, to assist their sovereign when war called him to defend his own rights, or ambition prompted him to invade those of others.

Among the number of those to whom William, as a testimony of his friendship, granted such extensive possessions; is ranked Eudo: a Norman lord, whose father was in high trust with William, and employed by him upon occasions that required uncommon fidelity. A considerable part of Eudo's territory being in Essex, he chose, prompted by reasons of convenience and pleasure, to establish his residence in Colne-Ceaster; and, following the mode of his country, construct an habitation suitable to his dignity, and the power he enjoyed.

For this purpose, he selected a situation, that probably had been long before made use of by the ancient British kings, and the
Roman

Roman governors, for a similar purpose. The residence of Cunobiline, and in after times of Coel, not improbably occasioned the foundation of structures, which were not yet totally destroyed. Upon such part as time, civil commotion, and foreign destruction had A.D. spared of the ancient palace of Coel; Eudo¹⁰⁷⁶ laid the foundation of his castle, constructing it after the model used by the Normans, and completely finished it, with all the apparatus, the arts, and contrivances used in their system of defence.

Having thus made permanent the seat of his power, Eudo began to rectify the disorders and grievances with which he was surrounded. To effect which with greater ease, he obtained of William Rufus the government of Colne-Ceaster, and by means of this additional authority, restrained the insolent, and protected the oppressed.

That judicial proceedings might be had with convenience and state, he erected a court-house, which contained within its walls,

walls, besides a public hall for the hearing of causes, a chamber of council, and a place of confinement for the licentious and unruly.

The policy and good conduct of Eudo soon worked a revolution in the affairs of the public, and restored a tranquillity that had long been banished.

The high office of steward to the king, which Eudo had long enjoyed, seemed to call upon him to execute some work, in which piety joined with grandeur might extend his fame while living, and secure him an honourable remembrance. The institutions of monkish seclusion was a field which Eudo found particularly adapted to his purpose; and the foundation of a monastery was a work that admitted of magnificence of design, and, by the existent belief of that day, was of necessity to ensure a future welfare.

The spot chosen for this occasion, was a dry and pleasant eminence upon the south side of the town, and the building was commenced

A.D. 1096. menced with every ceremony of pomp and feasting.

When Eudo had accomplished his purpose in the construction of the monastery, unforeseen difficulties arose by the discontent of the monks appointed to reside in it; and it was several years, ere the liberality of the founder was rewarded by the gratitude and quiet behaviour of those for whom it was erected.

1104. The work of consecration was yet unaccomplished. This solemnity, Maurice, bishop of London, performed; who, as was usual in such ceremonies, received the offerings of Eudo, and his devout friends, at the high altar of the church.

These works of munificence, not unlikely stimulated Henry, who now sat on the throne of Britain, to do something in the general business of reformation and improvement planned, and thus far carried on by Eudo. The recent conquest of Britain, by William the

the Norman, made a confirmation of the ancient liberty enjoyed by the subject, a matter of great desire and consequence. This confirmation Henry assured to the inhabitants of Colne-Ceaster by letters patent, and granted them such other privileges as the necessity of the times required.

Eudo, after enjoying the fruits of his benevolence to a good old age, died at the castle of Preaux in Normandy, from whence ^{A. D.}₁₁₂₀ he was brought and interred in the monastery he had erected and endowed: resting finally in the midst of works which manifested his liberality, his opulence, and his piety.

By what means part of the possessions of Eudo fell into the king's hands, is unknown. The castle which he had erected at Colne-Ceaster became the property of the crown, although Geoffry de Mandeville, the grandson of Eudo, was in such estimation with Stephen, the successor of Henry, as to obtain of him the earldom of Essex, and the stewardship of Normandy. The town itself
being

being part of the royal demesnes was also in the hands of Stephen ; who as well as his successor Henry the Second, let it to the sheriff of Essex for an annual sum of money, which was exacted of the inhabitants with rigour. This grievance was however soon after redressed by a grant from Henry, upon their engaging to pay an annual fee-farm rent of forty-two pounds.

The example of Eudo in the erection of a monastery soon produced its effect. It was not long ere Eynulph projected the building a priory ; which when finished he dedicated to St. Botolph and St. Julian. In the construction of the church of the priory, the magnificence of Eudo was well imitated, if not exceeded by Eynulph ; who, if he possessed not the opulence of Eudo, rivalled him in the nobleness and grandeur of his designs.

As at this period of time, the sovereigns of Britain drew their chief strength from the Barons ; it became necessary, when any of them died without immediate descendants,

ants, to place in their strong holds some trusty warrior, who should secure the power of the district from being dispersed, and prevent the intrusion of any who might incline to a different interest. The possession of the castle which Eudo had erected, as it commanded the whole force of Colne-Ceaſter (which had become feudatory to it) and was also conſtructed with every advantage of defence, was of conſiderable importance. This fortrefs was therefore given in charge by Henry the Second to Hubert de St. Clare; a man who ſecured the reputation of valour and fidelity he had acquired, by the extraordinary circumſtances of his death.

For Hubert, with the power under his command, being attendant on Henry at the ſiege of Bridgenorth, where Hugh de Mortemere had poſted himſelf in array; and perceiving an arrow aimed at the king, who was defenceleſs; with a romantic gallantry ſtepped before him, and received the weapon in his own breaſt: ſaving the life of his ſovereign by his own immediate deſtruction.

By

By this action Hubert deprived his own family of a protector, the want of which was supplied by Henry, who married the only daughter of Hubert to William de Lanvallei, and endowed her with the possessions of her father; adding as a further mark of his esteem for the memory of Hubert, the custody of that castle, which was become untenanted by his death.

In imitation of his predecessors in power, William de Lanvallei founded, near the principal gate of Colne-Ceaster, a convent for Crouched Friars of the order of St. Augustine; expecting, as the opinions of the times directed, like them, to receive a reward beyond temporal honour or fame for such an instance of religious piety.

The barons and great men, ever since the invasion of William, having been chiefly of Norman origin, occasioned the introduction of the language of that nation, as a matter of elegance and refinement; and every thing which was distinguished by a Saxon name,
was,

was, if it remained unchanged, altered to suit the pronounciation of the Norman tongue. It was this innovation that probably occasioned the Saxon term of Colne-Ceaſter, to be ſoftened into Cole-Cheſter, or Col-Cheſter; as of eaſier and more fashionable deliverance.

The ſecurity of the rights and liberties of A.D. the people, ſeems to have engaged the ear-¹¹⁸⁹lieſt attention of the Britiſh kings. Impatient of honourable dominion, their firſt act of power was to confirm and extend the freedom of the public, and diſſipate the gloom of ſlavery. The baſe and narrow principles of deſpotiſm were indignantly ſpurned by monarchs, who, like the people over whom they reigned, cheriſhed the genuine ardour of liberty. It was thus with the firſt Richard, whoſe romantic gallantry and warlike ſpirit, however obſolete and exploded, wrought effects that extended through many ages. He was ſcarce ſeated on the throne of Britain, ere he haſted to confirm the ancient liberties of his people, and particularly thoſe of the

men of Colcheſter ; to whom alſo, by a voluntary charter, he granted, what in thoſe days¹¹⁸⁹ were eſteemed as privileges, extenſive and highly valuable.

The long abſence of Richard in Paleſtine, whither he was drawn by the religious zeal of the Cruſadors, and the ſhort duration of his reign after his return, admitted of but few more inſtances of patriotiſm. This deficiency was ill ſupplied by his ſucceſſor John, whoſe conteſts with the barons, whatever might have been his original deſigns, totally prevented his attention from being placed upon the welfare either of the whole, or any particular part of his dominions.

So far from it, few places were exempt from being involved in the troubles, which by the ill policy of his government, extended nearly throughout the kingdom. It had been uſual for Colcheſter to receive a conſiderable ſhare of the public diſorders, and upon this occaſion it was not paſſed by or forgotten.
¹²¹⁵ For Saher de Quincy Earl of Wincheſter,
 with

with an armed force of foreign soldiery, bent his course towards its walls, with intention of gaining a post that would give importance to his designs. Unable to accomplish his purpose either by open assault or insidious surprise, he began the operations of a siege, directing his chief attention towards the reduction of the castle; which being of considerable strength, was the principal object of his enterprise; and once gained, would ensure him an enviable permanency. To prevent this, the Barons assembled at London prepared to encounter the Earl, who unable to cope with such formidable assailants, fled, upon their approach, to Saint Edmund's-bury. A more favourable opportunity soon afterwards offering, Saher returned to the assault, in which succeeding to his wish, he garrisoned the castle with a party composed of his foreign troops, and such raw and unexperienced soldiers as he was able to collect in his progress.

John, amidst the variety of his troubles, brooked not these insults, but hastening in

person to Colchester, with what force he could gather, invested the castle, and cut off from it every source of communication with his enemies. Deprived by these means of all chance of escape or relief, the foreign soldiery, terrified by their hopeless situation, and surrounded with danger, delivered themselves and their fortress into the hands of John; stipulating to be allowed to depart with their goods and armour to their countrymen in London, and that their English associates might retain their liberty, paying reasonable ransom. These conditions John observed with respect to the foreign troops, but the English he dealt with as traitors, placing them in strict confinement; which behaviour of his nearly proved fatal to those that escaped: for upon their arrival at London, they were apprehended and charged with treason in not gaining a treaty as beneficial for the English as for themselves.

These were not the only instances of outrage of which Colchester was the scene. The
French

French soldiers under the command of Louis, the son of Philip the Second of France, who had entered into a league with the English Barons, had no sooner gained a footing in the kingdom, than their tyrannical and oppressive spirit began to shine forth in its true colours. Instead of rendering that assistance to the Barons they had engaged to afford, their attention was directed towards spoil and plunder. All the east parts of England severely felt the fatal effects of this rash and inconsiderate association. The inhabitants were made the servile and slavish tributaries of Louis, and reduced to the most miserable state of subjection. Neither private or public property were secure; even the churches were ransacked and spoiled of their ornaments and utensils of gold and silver. The Barons themselves and their followers, instead of preventing these injuries, in their progress to London, added, by similar practices to the public calamity; and finally obliged the inhabitants of Colchester to pay a heavy sum as a ransom from a general plunder.

When the Barons had accomplished their purpose in obtaining from John, that grand palladium of English liberty, Magna-Charta; and had established Henry the Third as his successor on the throne, it became a task of some difficulty to expel their French associate Louis, from the footing he had gained. Loath to relinquish the idea of being possessed of Britain, Louis sought to maintain
 A.D. 1218 and extend his ground. The eastern part of the kingdom was the field of his exploits and victories. Colchester soon saw displayed on its walls the standard of France; and the castle, which he invested, after a short siege, became dishonoured by submission to a foreign power.

Yet notwithstanding this degree of success, the strenuous exertions of the Barons and Henry, now no longer divided, but united in one common cause, soon compelled Louis to resign his conquests, and the pleasing dreams of a British empire. Evacuating, therefore, a territory, which he found him-
 self

self unable to retain, he departed reluctantly with his followers, to his own country, in chagrin and disappointment.

Many years must have elapsed ere the effects produced by a series of such turbulent events were completely worn away, and improvement rudely checked, commenced anew ^{A.D.} its slow progress. Henry, not unmindful of ¹²⁵³ the necessity of regal favour towards the furtherance of such a work, followed the examples of his predecessors, in confirming and extending by charter the rights and privileges of those who inhabited a place bending under the weight of recent misfortunes. The ensuing reign of Edward the First was peaceful with respect to Colchester; yet the disturbances which arose in other parts of Britain, occasioned very large sums to be levied for the exigences of war. These sums were raised by a valuation of the goods and chattles of every individual, in which the most minute article either of dress or ornament escaped not being estimated, and reckoned in the catalogue of extortion. Sometimes a

seventh, a twelfth, and even a fifteenth of the whole moveable property in the kingdom passed into the imperial coffers, and this contribution was frequently enforced many times in the same reign.

A fifteenth was levied upon the inhabitants of Colchester, in the first of the reign of Edward, and repeated in the eighth; a tallage in his fourth year, and in his twenty-fourth a seventh; again in the twenty-ninth year of the same Edward, another fifteenth was levied, which frequency and uncertainty occasioned an universal hatred to this method of subsidy*.

This way of raising a supply, however disagreeable, was repeated in Colchester in the
 1313 ensuing reign of the second Edward, and
 even

* Shakespear, by the mouth of a messenger to Jack Cade, expresses the public hatred of these odious levies.

—Here's the Lord Say, which sold the town in France; he made us pay one and twenty fifteenths, and one shilling to the pound, the last subsidy.

Second part of Henry VI, Act 4. Scene 7.

even until it wrought its own cure by occasioning the establishment of a more equitable, and less oppressive method of taxation.

Not wholly inattentive to the benefit of those from whom these supplies were received, Edward confirmed the ancient rights ^{A.D.} 1318 of the inhabitants of Colchester by his charter; and added to them such other privileges as were either desirable in their nature, or best expressed royal favour and confidence.

One of the most valuable of these, which they held by the grant of Richard the First, excited the avaricious disposition of a powerful and tyrannical man, and instigated him to attempt its acquisition. This was the fishery of the river Colne, which Lionel de Bradenham endeavoured to enclose, and appropriate to his own use. Being foiled in this attempt by the authority of Robert de Herle, Lord Admiral, he sought revenge by the most unjustifiable means. He retained in his service a band of desperate outlaws, who were inured to all kinds of mischief, and scrupled

scrupled not to act whatever the vindictive spirit of their patron suggested, or their own imagination directed would be agreeable to him, and recommend them to his favour.

With this lawless clan, Lionel besieged Colchester, or rather beset its avenues; and during three months kept the inhabitants in a continual alarm by his outrages: making a final effort, by his incendiaries, in an attempt to reduce the place to ashes. However, it was not long ere these exploits brought about his ruin, and compelled him to screen his forfeited life under a pardon.

It is not known to what extent, either trade or manufacture had been carried at this early period; or of what particular natures they were. It may be supposed, however, that the former was extensive; and, that notwithstanding the natural disadvantage of a shallow and narrow stream, the port of Colchester was well frequented both by foreign and English vessels. As a port of this description, it had already furnished to Edward the
Third,

Third, upon occasion of a great naval armament destined to the blockade of Calais, five ships, and one hundred and seventy mariners, The law which Edward enacted, making it felony for any person to export wool, probably introduced the fabrication of cloth, from an article otherwise useless and unprofitable ; and finally in the encouragement it received, put down every other species of manufacture.

As Colchester had furnished in its way towards the armament of Edward, so it partook of the honour of his triumph after the victory of Cressy. Many prisoners of note were led in the train of the puissant conqueror, and the custody of them were made marks of favour and confidence. Some of these captives were delivered to the Bayliffs of Colchester ; and, while such a charge soothed their pride as victors, convinced them that the armed national force had not been feebly directed, or misapplied.

In the midst of the victories of Edward, which yet cast a lustre upon the national character

character of the English, that tremendous scourge, the plague, twice shook the walls of Colchester, and with its usual rapidity, hurried immense numbers into one common grave.

A.D. Before the final close of the illustrious
¹³⁶⁴ reign of Edward, he confirmed the inhabitants of Colchester in their liberties: which worthy example the second Richard delayed not to follow, by a charter which he granted them in the first year of his reign.

The confusion introduced by the traitorous insurrection of Wat Tyler, which happened in the early days of Richard, extended to Colchester; notwithstanding the chief scene of action was far distant. J. Ball, a priest, laying aside his holy function, became one of the chief incendiaries, and took refuge in Colchester; where probably he had adherents, and thought by their means to have secured a place that would have afforded a consequence to his undertaking, and an asylum in case of necessity.

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Wat Tyler, and the chief of his associates being put to death, such few as remained, fled, and dispersed themselves over the country. Some of them arriving at Colchester, endeavoured to raise a seditious spirit amongst the lowest of the people, and instigate them to join in a revolt, which had already showered down its fatal effects upon their desperate leader, and his principal abettors.

In this however they were disappointed, A.D. and the alarm of a French invasion soon after ¹³⁸¹ effectually put a stop to the growth of sedition. Richard, apprehensive that his enemies might, (following the example of ancient times) make the acquisition of Colchester their first object; issued a commission of array. All the inhabitants between the age of sixteen and three score, were compelled to take arms, and harness themselves ready for the combat. Every thing was in readiness for the reception and annoyance of the expected enemy; but the vigilance of Richard, and the ardour of his preparations, effectually

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ly prevented the execution of whatever scheme might have been intended.

In those events which wrought the downfall of the unfortunate Richard, and elevated his rival to the throne, the inhabitants of Colchester had no share. Henry the Fourth, A.D. 1400 as soon as he had established himself in security, was content merely to ratify their ancient privileges without either extending or diminishing them.

1413 The conduct of Henry the Fifth was different. Not content with a bare confirmation of their ancient rights, he explained what before had been couched in obscure terms, and completed, by the addition of a new grant, what his ancestors had left unfinished, or the variation of time and circumstance had made necessary.

Although the favour of the sovereigns of England had been so frequently extended to Colchester, yet the number of their visits to it had been small. Henry the Sixth was the
next

next after John, whom occasions of necessity A.D. or curiosity impelled to the journey. On his ¹⁴⁴⁵ arrival, the ceremonies attending a royal visit, and every circumstance of pageantry and rejoicing were not omitted or disregarded.

The easy disposition and calmness of temper which Henry shewed upon every occasion, so unlike the turbulent impetuosity of the chief characters with which he was surrounded, has been the means of his being stigmatized as impotent and pusillanimous. To shew the injustice of these epithets, would be a task of little difficulty; however, that he was liable to imposition; and the artifices of deception, from the unsuspectingness of his temper, may be admitted without injury to his character. The grant of the Fishery, ¹⁴⁴⁶ to the rapacious cravings of the Earl of Oxford, so often confirmed by his regal predecessors, to the inhabitants of Colchester, is to be attributed to his want of information, rather than to an inability of judgment, or an inclination to commit injury.

This

This attempt of the Earl, although not made in such a boisterous way as that of Lionel de Bradenham's, tended to the same end:—the appropriation of public property to private use. This, however, the equity of several legal decisions prevented; and at the same time that it cancelled the Earl's grant, and barred his future pretensions, firmly established the inhabitants of Colchester in their claim.

Between the time of the Earl's insidiously obtaining this grant, and the decisions which abolished his hopes of reaping any benefit by it, Henry, however singular it may seem, confirmed the inhabitants of Colchester in their ancient claim to this valuable part of their property: so far, and by the charter which contained this confirmation, repairing the unintentional injury he had committed.

The stern and bloody conflicts which overthrew this unfortunate prince, and uprooted him from the seat of power, arose and terminated

minated in other parts of the kingdom; nevertheless, as even private opinion in such an important cause could infer a degree of guilt, Edward the Fourth wiped away from the inhabitants of Colchester, all accusation and reproach, by a general pardon.

To conciliate likewise the minds of those, who although not immediately concerned, must in some degree remotely feel the effects of those convulsions which displaced the unhappy Henry, Edward renewed the chartered^{A.D. 1462} liberties of Colchester, and granted some new marks of indulgence and favour.

Although little was to be feared from the occasional residence of an unknown and obscure person; yet from extreme watchfulness and caution lest any one should intrude whose designs might be inimical to the public safety, no stranger was permitted to abide more than forty days within the walls of Colchester, without swearing fealty to the king, and thereby removing all cause of apprehension. This custom probably arose

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in the earlier times of the Saxon government, and being of utility to bring into view the political sentiments of occasional sojourners, continued to be exercised when the original cause of its creation was forgotten.

A.D. The reign of Richard the Third was mark-
¹⁴⁸³ ed by tyranny and bloodshed; and that of
 1485 Henry the Seventh, his destroyer, characterized by avarice, rapine, and extortion. Engaged in these unkingly exploits, it is not wonderful that neither of these monarchs bestowed any particular care to advance the welfare of a people, whom the one regarded as slaves, and the other merely as tools for the accumulation of wealth, which, like a sponge, they were to disgorge at the squeeze of royalty. However, as it had become customary to assure the continuance of the rights of corporate bodies, a charter to that effect, found its way to pass the seal of Henry, confirming the inhabitants of Colchester in the exercise of their antient franchises, and annexing to their jurisdiction the four hamlets of Lexden, Mile-End, Greenstead, and Beer-Church.

The

The same assurance, Henry the Eighth A.D. likewise made to them soon after he ascended ¹⁵¹¹ the throne, as the effusions of a liberal mind, yet untutored in the principles of despotism.

The demon of mischief had not yet taken possession of Henry, and ere destruction overwhelmed the monument of the piety of Eudo, the abbey of St. John, it was to receive within its walls, the unfortunate Catharine of Arragon, and afford her shelter and entertainment in her religious pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham.

The fancied sanctity of this holy shrine, occasioned the daily resort of an infinite number of people; and amongst the rest wrought upon the pardonable superstition of Catharine, to seek an expiation of her sins, and a relief from trouble, in the performance of her religious duties at the feet of it. Her journey having brought her near to Colchester, ¹⁵¹⁶ she was met, and conducted by the bayliffs, to the abbey; and there with her magnificent retinue, received and entertained by the ab-

bot with regal hospitality, and unaccustomed pomp. The bayliffs not to be outdone in tokens of esteem and regard for the comfort of their sovereign, presented her at her departure with a purse of gold; and attended her to the confines of their liberties, in the forest of Kingswood, with all the circumstances of magisterial dignity.

This attention and regard, although directed to a queen hastening from neglect into disgrace, was probably not ill relished by Henry: but, with the ready grant of a loan of money, which he requested of the inhabitants of Colchester, might be conjointly the cause of the liberality of his favours to them.

A.D. 1536 The extensive forest of Kingswood, lying on the north side of the town, he granted for the trifling sum of one hundred pounds, to the burgeses of Colchester; and, included in the charter which secured to them such a valuable demesne, an exemption from serving the office of Sheriff, and the privilege of chusing two Coroners.

The

The assumption which Henry made towards the conclusion of his reign, of supreme head of the English church, was the groundwork and foundation of religious liberty. The structures of catholic superstition and error, were soon shook to the earth; and in their ruin, unsolicited charity to the indigent, and hospitality to the houseless wanderer, were overwhelmed.

The decay that fell upon the magnificent monastery, and church of St. John, the priory of St. Botolph, the hospital and church of the Crouched Friars, and other religious structures of less note, occasioned consternation and grief; and their demolition and utter ruin which soon after followed, completed the despair of those, who chiefly depended upon the charity and benevolence which constantly stretched forth the hand of relief at their gates.

The work of reformation is seldom carried ^{A.D.} on with judgment, or without committing ¹⁵³⁹ acts of injustice and cruelty. John Beche,

the abbot of St. John's, keeping firm in the doctrine of papal supremacy, disowned and disregarded the pretensions of Henry. The bayliffs of Colchester, in the zeal of vindicating their sovereign, hastily snatched his impetuous and vindictive spirit, and with a wanton tyranny sported over the object of their wrath. Inviting the abbot to a friendly entertainment, when hilarity and mirth had overspread the soul of the unsuspecting victim, the fatal warrant was disclosed; and death made more poignant by the practices of refined tyranny, was hastily inflicted as the punishment of surmised, shadowless, and unsubstantial treason.

A.D. The scite of the abbey, now totally abandoned
¹⁵⁴⁴ to secular purposes, Henry granted for a term of years to Sir Thomas Darcy. Its extensive possessions also were knavishly undervalued, and greedily devoured by insatiables; who, as sharks pursuing a fleet, or ravens an army, cruize about the tyrant of a state, and grasp at the property rapaciously torn from the true owners,

The

The other religious foundations soon suffered a similar fate, and their possessions followed in the same tract : being given by Henry as rewards for slavish acquiescence, or sold for sums trifling and inadequate to their value.

It requires little judgment to perceive, that, except in religious liberty, the abolition of the monasteries, was attended with no peculiar advantages to the public. The mere change of property, from the hands of a society of venerable and religious men, professing the doctrines of charity and benevolence; to those of individuals, bloated with ambition, and ideas of aggrandisement; would occasion consequences, if not injurious to the community, yet productive of no real or substantial benefit. For while one were exercising, however erroneously, the duties of religion; the others regarded, or practised little else, than riotous debauchery, and the forms of ostentatious pageantry.

However difficult it may be to trace effects

to their cause, and particularly those complicated ones which resulted from monasterial dilapidation; it would be neither erroneous or absurd, to assign the destruction of these buildings, and the dissolution of monkish societies, as the true cause of a decay, that in Colchester quickly after began to waste and diminish it. Many estates fell to ruin, for which the owners were presented; but the law unable to cope with necessity, was insufficient to compel a re-edification. On the contrary, the evil increased, and spread so wide that many streets were annihilated, or so far demolished as to lose their accustomed appellation.

A.D. The decease of Henry the Eighth, brought
¹⁵⁴⁷ with it, in the confirmation charter of his son Edward the Sixth, a renewal of those liberties, so often carefully guarded both by the sovereign and the people, from diminution. This renewal in the more early sovereigns of Britain, arose from the ardour of a liberal and free spirit disdaining servility; but now had become the mere accustomed form

form of office, and was issued without discrimination as the first effusions of favouring royalty.

During the short reign of Edward, the progress of reformation, in religious matters, as if conscious of the sudden check that was to ensue, was rapid. But hitherto instructed in the dogmas of a church which boasted infallibility, the minds of men, unaccustomed to the liberty of judging, were inadequate to the task of discriminating the true principles of religion, and the rational mode of public worship. Incircled by this disability, and yet incumbered with the toils and delusive errors of catholicism, it is neither wonderful or strange they should, shunning their old enemies, fall into the clutches of new; and in avoiding antient dogmas run into fanaticism, and enthusiastical wanderings.

The established church was, in Colchester particularly, an insufficient bulwark against the spreading any doctrine, that needed but be new, to ensure a reception and encouragement.

ment. Bereft of dignity and consequence in the overthrow of its antient holds, and in the loss of its extensive possessions, enough scarcely remained for a homely and sordid maintenance of those ministers of its doctrine, whose independence would have added a weight and force to argument, and clipt the unsteady and fluttering pinions of fantastic visionaries.

Had the life of Edward been prolonged to manhood, it is probable the work of reformation would have been completed in a wise and durable manner. But his early death, which cut asunder the fairest hopes, and the best founded expectations of public benefit and tranquillity, not only left his seat of royalty vacant for the bigotted and inhuman Mary, but the grounds of her unfeeling persecution unremoved, in the unsettled state of a multitude of new and unripened doctrines, and forms of worship; which like fungous excrescences, were produced by the operation of the brooding spirit of enthusiasm from the rich and teeming soil of catholic waste and ruin.

While

While many other places in England were using the most strenuous exertions to elevate the liberal and accomplished Jane Gray to a throne which would have received a lustre from her learning and virtues, Colchester, unheedful of the tendency of its actions, was amongst the first to assist her rival, and bring her back from flight to that station in which by the unrestrained exercise of her cruelty, she acquired a high rank in the dark catalogue of human tyrants and destroyers.

The fears of Mary had compelled her to retire to a strong castle at Framlingham, in Suffolk, which standing near the coast, would give her a convenient opportunity of escaping by sea, should any unfavourable turn in her affairs, make it necessary to seek a refuge in flight. In an anxious state of suspense, she received with joy, intelligence of the progress of her cause, which acquired additional strength in the misjudged loyalty of the inhabitants of Colchester, who eagerly engaged in her designs. The necessary demands

hands of her household at Framlingham, they carefully supplied, by dispatching to that place a large assortment of provision for the consumption of her adherents. Not yet satisfied, in the ardour of their zeal, they furbished up their arms anew, and made every necessary preparation for becoming a bulwark to screen her from impending danger.

A.D. A few days after her accession to the throne,
¹⁵⁵³ Mary hastily returned to that quarter of the kingdom where she thought herself most secure. Well pleased with the proofs of zeal she had received from the burgeses of Colchester, her visit was directed to them, as to people who were entitled to her earliest notice. The hospitality of her reception, kept pace with the eagerness of attachment she had before experienced from them; and during her stay, nothing was wanted of festive entertainment, or any deficiency in honourable pomp and magnificence. Finally, at her departure, she was presented, as the ceremonies

ceremonies of the times required, with a large silver cup, and twenty pounds in gold:—a sum in those days not beneath the royal dignity to accept.

As a return for these instances of loyalty, Mary, soon after, numbered the burgesſes of Colcheſter amongſt thoſe to whom ſhe extended her charter of confirmation. It would have been well, had ſhe, upon occaſion of the religious diſputes which ſoon after began to overſpread the kingdom, ſo far remembered their fidelity, as to have ſhewn a charitable lenity to their foibles.

Inſtead of which, perſecution in all its A.D. horrid forms ſtalked around, and the torch ¹⁵⁵⁵ of ſuperſtition fired the fatal pile. Singularity in religious opinions marked the victim, and the idea of martyrdom urged it on to the ſlaughter. The ſtreets were whitened with human aſhes, and the bigot queen rejoiced in the ſacrifice. The well continued perſeverance of a few, lighted the enthuſiaſm of others; who void of a ſettled opinion, and ignorant

ignorant even of their own meaning, blindly rushed upon destruction. The dreams of fanaticism obscured the understanding, and new sects sprung up like poisonous weeds in a rank and uncultivated soil. To these, as if insufficient, were conjoined the exotic productions of a foreign soil. The strange and absurd sect of the Family of Love, was, by Christopher Vitels, the disciple of Henry Nicholas of Delft, its first founder, transplanted to Colchester, to add a variety to what was already sufficiently varied.

The eyes of all religious men were turned towards Colchester. The fame of its persecuted inhabitants, and the diversity of its sects, made it the mart of religious opinions, and the sure field of a glorious death. Those who thirsted for persecution, and the crown of martyrdom, journeyed from afar and assembled with their misguided brethren, as to a joyful feast. The resort was great, and Colchester, in the quaint language of a misguided zeal, "became like unto a citie upon an hill, and as a candle upon a candle-
"sticke

(III)

“ sticke gave great light to all those who for
“ the comfort of their conscience came to
“ conferre there from divers places of the
“ realme *.”—In these conferences prudence
and caution were disregarded. The public
inns were the conventicles, and the openness
and notoriety of these exercises, roused the
fierce and cruel disposition of the unrelenting
Mary. Such as continued firm in the opi-
nions they had adopted, braved the terrors
of a cruel death, and remained unshaken in
the midst of a consuming fire. Many un-
able to withstand the horror of dissolution,
effected by the unslaked rage of such a fierce
element, in the hour of trial shrunk back,
and sought security in submission and re-
cantation †.

As the bigotted perseverance of Mary in-A.D.
creased, so increased the firmness and steady-¹⁵⁵⁸
ness of those against whom it was directed.

Three

* Wilkinfon's Confutation of the Family of Love,
London, 4to. 1579.

† The particulars of these events may be seen in J.
Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. iii, edit. 1684.

Three years had elapsed, and this impolitic and inhuman persecution still remained unabated, and threatened with its fiery scourge a continuance of destruction. Providence by timely interposition cut short the days of Mary, rased the foundation of superstitious bigotry, and extinguished the flame by which it maintained and supported its doctrines, against the dictates of reason and the rights of humanity.

The political, as well as religious hemisphere, which had been obscured during the reign of the oppressive and unpitying Mary, upon the approach of Elizabeth, brightened into gleams of splendor yet unexperienced by the English people. For the customary forms of instauration were scarcely over, ere Elizabeth, by solemn acts, gave a welcome assurance of civil and religious liberty. To the inhabitants of Colchester, yet smarting under the lash of persecution, she confirmed their ancient privileges, with such additions to them as marked her care and regard. Those who remained in prison, awaiting the fatal warrant

warrant that was to conduct them to taste the bitter death of their associates, were unexpectedly and joyfully restored to light, and the free exercise of their religion. The chains of bigotry and superstition were broken, and that reformation first began in anger and resentment by the despotic Henry, was firmly established by the cool and dispassionate judgment of the prudent Elizabeth, under the title of Protestantism; which yet had the uniformity of its texture chequered by a variety of minute and trifling opinions, modes of worship, and other unnecessary distinctions of sect.

The spirit of religious persecution had not been confined merely to England: many other countries experienced a visit from this minister of vengeance, and groaned under its lash. The Duke D'Alva, as if emulous of the deeds of Mary, tyrannised over the consciences of the Flemings; and by his unrelenting disposition compelled many of them to seek an asylum in Britain. Of these, A.D. two hundred fleeing their native country, ¹⁵⁷⁰

I arrived

arrived at Colchester; determined in their choice of it as a place of refuge, equally by the variety, number, and liberty of its religious sectaries, as by the opportunity of employment it afforded in the manufacture of woollen cloth: an occupation which they were expert in, and from whence they hoped to derive a comfortable subsistence.

The chief magistrates foreseeing the possible advantages that might result from the labour and industry of men whose sole means of existence depended upon a vigorous exertion of their abilities, craved the privy council to afford them permission of establishment, and to protect them in the exercise of their religion and employment. These favours were not withheld by the able ministers of Elizabeth; and under their patronage, the Flemings pursued their designs with alacrity and success.

In the necessary preparations of wool for the purposes of manufacture, many offensive operations poison and infect the air to a great extent ;

extent; rendering it an apt and fit medium for the propagation of the most noisome and fatal disorders. It was probably owing to this corrupt state of air, that the plague had several times before raged in Colchester with a peculiar degree of fury; and now encouraged by the encreased state of the manufactures, again appeared in all its terrors: manifesting by the fierceness and tenacity of its grasp; the presence of an aliment congenial to its birth, and suited to the support of its nature.

This visitor had scarcely taken its leave, ere a more welcome one appeared. Elizabeth, as a relaxation from the cares of government, commenced an autumnal journey; and directed her course in the conclusion of it, towards Colchester. Not to omit the due honours of reception, the bailiffs and their associates, clad in official habiliments, issued forth at her approach in a proceffional train. The quaintness of pageantry, and an occasional display of fanciful magnificence, decorated her entrance, which received continual

interruption from the exhibition of new scenes. The studied formality of an oration expressive of the happiness conferred by such an instance of regal condescension, and the general benefits resulting from the government of such a gracious and puissant prince, was not wanting ; and in compliance with the punctilious ceremony of the time, was delivered by Sir Thomas Lucas the recorder.

This hospitable reception, was but a prelude to the sumptuous entertainment that followed. During the two days stay of Elizabeth, nothing was spared that might express the zeal and loyalty of the people, or add to the good cheer and amusement of the Queen and her retinue. As a further mark of respect, which custom had made necessary to be observed, Elizabeth was presented with a stately cup of silver double gilt, containing forty angels of gold ; and her officers with such a distribution of gratuities, as upon similar occasions had been usual.

A.D. The protection the Flemings had received
 1580 at their first chusing Colchester for their residence,

dence, and the encouragement they had experienced, in the ten years that had elapsed since their establishment, were the means of greatly encreasing their numbers. The regularity and method of their proceedings both in civil and religious matters, as well as in what related to their manufactures, made them examples of imitation. They had formed themselves into a congregation, or distinct body, and every one whom they acknowledged as a member had his name inrolled in a register: they were permitted to make orders and regulations for the carrying on their trade, which gave them a degree of credit unknown before: they supported the poor and indigent of their own nation, not suffering them to become a burthen to those whose hospitality had given them an asylum. For the purposes of religion, they had the church of St. Giles assigned them, and the doctrines of Luther, were expounded by a minister chosen from amongst themselves.

These liberties, far greater than any their own country afforded, tempted many, who

otherwise had no rational motive, to leave their native soil, and associate with their brethren, thus established. Their numbers daily increased, and Colchester was upon the point of becoming a colony of Flemings, as well as of enduring the incommodious circumstances of dearth and dearth of provision. The congregation was unable to restrain this increase, and the bailiffs and aldermen to prevent further accumulation to a body already too unwieldy, exerted themselves in a command that no stranger should for the future be permitted to reside in the precincts of the town, without their special consent.

The increase of trade and manufactures, effectually established by the industry and integrity of the Flemings, produced an opulence hitherto unexperienced. Those who a few years before fled their native country, houseless, unsheltered, and persecuted, were by the fostering indulgence of a well directed policy, and their own diligence, placed high above indigence and want, and made the means of diffeminating the comforts of life
to

to others. The continual flow of wealth from such an unabating source, kindled an ardour of improvement, which the Flemings spread by their example. The renovation of decayed and ancient buildings, as well as the construction of new fabrics, was from the increased number of inhabitants, and the great demand for suitable and convenient houses, rather a matter of choice and advantage, than of compulsion and necessity:—in this the Flemings took the lead, and every improvement went on with rapidity.

A proper seminary for the purposes of learning was yet wanting. This, Elizabeth, to advance the work of reformation by her high assistance, took care to supply. To effect which she issued her letters patent for the foundation of a free school, and granted to the bailiffs and commonalty, the chantries in the chapel of St. Helen, and in the church of St. Mary, as an endowment, which they were to see well applied. To the Bishop of London and the Dean of the cathedral church of St. Paul, as learned and experienced men,

she committed the task of framing proper and suitable statutes and ordinances, for the government and direction of the masters and scholars.

A.D.
1588 In the midst of these exertions, the intelligence of an invasion by the Spaniards, unhinged all further efforts; and the whole nation, thrown into a paroxysm of apprehension and fear, abandoned every idea, except those which promised to secure it from the impending danger. The want of a regular military force, was supplied by occasional musters; in which, all within the age of sixteen and sixty, forming a motley and irregular assortment, were compelled to habituate themselves to arms, dissimilar and unapt frequently either for annoyance or defence.

Insufficient as this method might appear, and in reality was in many respects, the deficiency of martial uniformity and arrangement was abundantly counterbalanced by a spirit and unbroken ardour, unknown and perhaps incompatible with the servility of a
more

more established and durable mode of array, that pervaded and energised a body of which otherwise no exploits of marvel could be prognosticated or expected.

The most considerable and experienced men were appointed by commission to raise these forces, and to train and exercise them. Amongst these, the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Riche, and the Lord Darcy, the bailiffs, magistrates, and most considerable inhabitants, had it in charge to put those of Colchester into military order and inure them to the use of arms.

As an aid to the naval armament of Elizabeth, two ships and a pinnace were fitted out from the port of Colchester, furnished completely with every minute necessary, for a two month's cruise with the rest of the fleet against the Spaniards; then hourly expected to put their threatened schemes into execution.

The delay of this expected evil, did not induce the forces levied at Colchester to lay aside their arms. Several occasions which intervened

intervened, made it necessary to select for the public service, small bands from amongst the most able, to war in conjunction with those raised in the county. Of these, some were destined to act in retaliation, under the command of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis ¹⁵⁹⁵ Drake, against the Spaniards; for which service also in the attack intended upon Cadiz, the inhabitants of Colchester paid to the Vice Admiral of Essex 200l. towards providing a vessel, manned and equipped for the purpose of war.

¹⁵⁹⁹ The long interval between the first rumour, and the actual sailing of the Spanish fleet towards the coast of England, had been measured by anxiety; and now that the long expected tremendous armament, that threatened to overwhelm the whole British nation, and heap upon it the joint calamities of war and slavery, was descried upon the shores of France bending its course towards England, alarm and terror were universal. The forces that had been mustered and kept in the exercise of arms, were ordered to assemble on pain
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of death, and march to oppose the landing of the enemy. The English fleet also issued out, and at the first onset fear was dispelled. The unwieldy and gorgeous vessels of the Spaniards were assailed on every side by the lighter ships of the English, which hovered continually around them. Unable to effect the purpose of their expedition, or to retreat, the Spaniards became exposed to sure destruction, which soon overwhelmed their splendid navy, and strewed the shores of Britain and Ireland with the glittering fragments of unserviceable magnificence.

Disencumbered of the apprehensions of slavery from a foreign foe, the English laid aside their arms, and resumed their long interrupted and gainful occupations of trade and commerce. The inhabitants of Colchester, amongst the rest, freed from the duties of a military life, gladly pursued their accustomed employments.

By the encouragement of the Flemings, and the spirit of industry they had infused in-
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to the people, every species of trade and employment was enlarged and made more profitable; and as the burgesſes of Colcheſter claimed peculiar privileges, they failed not at this juncture to take advantage of them. It had been cuſtomary for every inhabitant exerciſing any employment in trade, and who was not of the claſs of burgesſes, annually to acknowledge his inferiority by the payment of a fine. This cuſtom, of greater antiquity than the time of the ſecond Edward, was now particularly enforced; and as a further diſtinction, a lattice of wood of half a yard in height, was placed before the windows of ſuch inhabitants, who were denominated foreigners, and eſteemed as intruders, and unrelated to their community.

Notwithſtanding the interruption theſe proceedings might occasion, the main buſineſs of increaſing the manufactures introduced by the Flemings, held on its progreſs. The more ſerious interruption occaſioned by the plague, A.D. 1603 which at the time of the acceſſion of James, viſited many parts of the kingdom, and for-
look

took not its accustomed rout to Colchester, A.D. 1604 with all its ravages did not occasion an abatement of industry, or prevent the numbers of the manufacturing people from being greatly enlarged.

As little were the effects of a dearth and scarcity of the articles of provision, which soon after ensued; for, although the sudden accumulation of numbers might render a famine however difficultly born, still more terrible in its effects, yet the consideration of encreasing such an evil, weighed but little, where employment held out the glittering temptation of unexperienced wealth. The inhabitants had become so numerous, that 1609 every house was filled; and frequently under the same roof two or three families breathed a confined air, tainted by the noxious effluvia of wool, prepared with putrid and offensive materials for the purpose of manufacture.

James had already granted his charter to the burgeses of Colchester; and now to remedy some of the inconveniences occasioned
by

by the indiscriminate destruction of religious and charitable foundations, re-founded the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, which had lain neglected since the time of Edward the Sixth, establishing it by the title of the College or hospital of King James. The chapel of the hospital was destroyed, the building itself ruinous, and considerable part of the revenues knavishly diminished. What of these remained, he secured to the hospital, and directed the Lord Chancellor of his realm to be the visitor, whose inspection was to prevent abuse and misapplication.

The tricks of royalty for the extortion of money, were not neglected during the reign of James. It will appear strange that upon such an occasion, where the motive must be evident, paltry devices should be made use of to obtain what no one had the power to refuse. Under pretence of introducing his eldest son Henry into the order of knighthood, James demanded of Colchester an aid of forty-six pounds. The unpopular way of raising money by privy seal was also not omitted,

omitted, and when the Princess Elizabeth his daughter was espoused to Frederick, Elector Palatine, it was not forgotten to extort a sum for defraying the expence. Compelled by a desire of acquiring wealth to gratify the insatiate cravings of his abandoned minions and favourites, still more unworthy expedients were sought; and James, “the most mighty and puissant monarch”—(to use the language of the obsequious times) condescended for a trifling sum paid into his coffers, to affix his sacred name to an ale-house licence, and patentise the drunken enormities of a common hostelry.

Yet the royal signature, debased and degraded as it was by these means, became respectable when applied to secure well earned advantages to an industrious community. The great benefits which had resulted to Colchester, both in respect of wealth, and a more durable state of its buildings, called for some marks of royal favour to the Flemings, who were the original cause of these improvements. That it might be known they were

were under the powerful protection of the sovereign as well as the laws, James granted them his letters patent, which ordained that they should have liberty to exercise their trade, and make orders and regulations for the better carrying it on. He also confirmed to them all such privileges as had been allowed them by Elizabeth; by the means of which they had hitherto been enabled to cope with necessity, and the various evils attached to foreign birth and manners.

Thus united by the title of the Dutch Congregation, and having their orders respecting their manufactures sanctioned by regal authority, they laid the foundation of a trade, which by a continued observance of their rules might have been delivered down to the latest period of time, and have been a permanent source of riches and employment.

A.D.
1616

The increase of numbers amongst the Flemings at this time was considerable, for although there were but little more than two hundred of foreign birth, their children and servants of Flemish

Flemish extraction, who were natives of Colchester, amounted to more than a thousand. Near six hundred of these chose their residence in one parish*: a circumstance difficult to be accounted for, unless their language, a firm band of association, made it necessary for the more ample supply of their wants, or as the means of support and countenance to each other.

The integrity and uprightness of these Flemings, was ill requited by the knavery of the manufacturers in London, in the adjacent towns, and even in Colchester. Envious of well-earned superiority, idleness sought to profit by forging the testimonials of industry: The merchandise of the Flemings had been exposed to sale, and were purchased upon a mere inspection of the seals affixed. The honesty of their antagonists found a nearer way than by labour to become their rivals; some counterfeited the seals, and others unable to attain such a perfection in villainy, were content to translate them from the more

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* The parish of St. Peter.

excellent kinds of manufacture, to those of inferior texture.

These proceedings not only hurt the sale of the manufactures, and prevented the purchase of them upon the usual inspection of the certificates of their worth, but also cast a stigma upon the Flemings; who, by having the direction of affixing the seals, were thus brought under a suspicion of abusing the public confidence, and of sharing in the profits of a knavish imposture.

Before the termination of the inglorious and unactive reign of James, the Spaniards, restless under the circumstances of a recent
 A.D. defeat, and the vastness of their loss, had
 1625 engaged in a war with the English. The prosecution of this war was the first business of Charles; and the Spaniards with a fleet of twenty-eight sail, soon after his accession, assembled at Dunkirk, as a place conveniently situated for waiting the opportunity when they might effect a descent.

This

This armament although so trifling in respect to the former one in 1599, occasioned an alarm and preparation for defence, (particularly along the coasts of Essex and Suffolk,) equal to any former one. The magistrates of Colchester, urged by letters from the privy council, exerted every effort in providing for the defence of themselves, and the county. All the inhabitants capable of bearing arms, were arrayed, exercised, and held in readiness for the coming of the enemy. Detached parties were stationed along the coast, and what military engines they could furnish or procure, sent to oppose the expected invaders. A light swift-sailing vessel, was also dispatched by the magistrates, to the coast of Flanders, to watch the coming forth of the fleet, and bring them intelligence of its motions.

The preparations of the Spaniards were spent in vapouring, and a final stop was put to their intentions against the English, by the unwelcome appearance of forty sail of Dutch vessels, extending their line of battle before

the harbour of Dunkirk. Escaping thence, the Spaniards wasted the feeble remains of their armament, in piratical outrages upon the northern coasts; 'till a fleet, raised for the prevention of those insults, compelled them to seek their own safety in a precipitate flight.

A.D. Incircled by the confusion of public affairs,
 1630 Charles had not yet noticed the inhabitants of Colchester, by a confirmation of their charters. This from whatever cause delayed, was however not totally neglected: but by letters patent, which issued in the fifth year of his accession, they were made secure in the exercise of those liberties they inherited from the happy constructure of the constitution, the firmness and integrity of their ancestors, and the patriotic indulgence of the more ancient kings of England.

1631 The following year was marked by an event, the tremendous consequences of which are unknown to the present age. The plague, with its accustomed swiftness of destruction, renewed

renewed its visit to Colchester; and as the number of its poor inhabitants was considerable, and crowded in ill-contrived dwellings, the bitter severity of this evil was tasted without allay.

The effects of this scourge were scarcely A.D. obliterated before disagreeable ones were ex-¹⁶³⁴cited from another cause, which although not so hasty, became eventually no less fatal. The imposition of Ship money, was highly obnoxious to the spirit of the English people, as well on account of its being levied by writ under the great seal, as that the application of it when raised might be to other purposes, and thereby a gate opened for endless extortion.

It had been usual for the several sea ports of England to furnish in times of urgent necessity and danger, as a voluntary aid to the naval armament of the kingdom, such vessels manned and appointed for war, as suited with their ability, and served to manifest their ready assistance against a national enemy. This voluntary aid, in proportion as it was readily

granted, assumed the garb and fashion of a custom; and now, when resort was had to every species of extortion, was dressed out in the terms of a demand, which required a strict and ready compliance. The magistrates of Colchester, and the other sea port towns of Essex and Suffolk, were commanded to provide for the fitting out a vessel of 700 tons; but being not very alert in their compliance, the king proposed to furnish one himself, for an adequate sum of money.

A.D. 1635 The next year this scheme of imposition was changed, and the burthen which hitherto had been borne solely by the maritime towns, was now placed upon all the corporate towns in the county. Essex was required to produce eight thousand pounds, for the purpose of setting forth a vessel of 800 tons; of which heavy sum, four hundred pounds was to be levied in Colchester.

The compliance of the magistrates upon former occasions, now brought them into an unpleasant dilemma. To levy the required
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sum was nearly impossible; and if accomplished, the prospect of new demands arose in endless succession, accompanied by abuse and misapplication. To return an absolute refusal, ill suited with the uniform readiness they had hitherto shewn of contributing to relieve the exigences of the public. However, as the latter seemed the most prudent course, and in some respects almost unavoidable; they formed a resolution of claiming to be exempt from such levies, and that the demand of them was an intrusion upon their privileges: qualifying nevertheless, the harshness of their answer, by the payment of part of the required sum, and by a petition to the privy council, stating their reasons of exemption.

Although the magistrates had thus far shewn themselves as not entertaining the doctrine of passive obedience, little notice seems to have been taken of their heresy: for upon an occasion which made a renewal of their charter a matter of consequence; instead of stripping them of every remnant of authority, and abolishing their separate jurisdiction,

Charles complied with their wants, and modelled anew their ancient form of government.

Yet this favour and indulgence shewn to the inhabitants in the hour of necessity, did not prevent them from cherishing the seeds of sedition; which in other parts of the kingdom had already sprung up, and produced the harvest of rebellion. Not groaning under any particular evil, or having a similar plea for discontent and open rupture with others, they first began with murmurs; and for want of other cause, broke out into complaints against church government. This produced a petition to parliament against bishops, and for liberty of conscience; in which they desired “ church discipline to be established according to the word of God, and the town better fortified :”—manifesting by the latter part of their prayer the tendency of their inclinations.

A. D.
1642

This the parliament well understood, and readily granted 1500*l.* for repairing the walls, and providing the necessary articles of defence;

fence; extending their care also in these particulars to the block-house, a small fort at Merlea, which commanded the entrance into the harbour.

These preparations, however speciously disguised, escaped not the observation of Sir John Lucas*; who professing a different opinion in political matters to the contrivers of these measures, found it would be prudent to withdraw to a place of greater safety, than Colchester promised to be, and where his services might be of advantage to that cause he had espoused. The necessary preparations of a small force of ten or twelve armed horsemen for his protection, excited suspicion; and ere he could accomplish his intended flight, he was seized, and with his chaplain held in confinement, till the pleasure of the parliament should be made known.

As in this action the inhabitants had stepped forward beyond the line of neutrality, and
openly

* The brother of Sir Charles Lucas, created in 1644 Lord Lucas,

openly taken the same ground as the parliament, beyond the possibility of retreating; the underworkers in the business, took the liberty of regaling themselves in an indecent outrage, which was the more irresistible as they had hitherto been restrained from such proceedings, for want of a sufficient opportunity. The feeble age of the mother of Sir John Lucas, and the respect due to the Lady Lucas his wife, were insufficient to protect either of them from insult. The abbey of St. John, the well-furnished residence of the family, was pillaged, and by way of desert to such a magnificent riot, they descended into the vault of his ancestors, and continued their senseless indecencies among the dead.

These enormities however, were not countenanced by the parliament, as they came not within the scope of its design; but as they arose in consequence of zeal for its cause, the perpetrators of them, were screened from deserved punishment, by an unwarranted exertion of interest in their behalf.

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The parliament was probably induced to this lenity, by expectations of assistance from the inhabitants of Colchester. They had already shewn a ready inclination and compliance with the propositions and orders of parliament, in subscribing to maintain a force for the preservation of the public peace, and also to provide horse for the troops daily raised throughout the kingdom; and now that these late events, had fairly launched them upon the same common sea of danger with themselves, the parliament made use of their activity and dispatch, in assisting to procure two thousand horses, for the mounting of dragoons.

The counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Hertford, Cambridge, and the isle of Ely, had entered into an association for mutual defence and preservation from rapine; and had raised forces, which were assembled at Cambridge as the head quarters, where they were properly trained and exercised. Two complete companies were fitted out at Col-^{A.D.}chester, and sent to the associated camp, ¹⁶⁴³ which held itself in readiness for action, and
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was augmented every opportunity and upon the slightest demand, by continual reinforcements and supplies both of men and ammunition.

But the alacrity of their exertions was best shewn upon the solicitations of the Earl of Essex, and of Cromwell; the earnest perseverance of whose demands, effectually stirred up the embers of sedition and tumult; and great numbers eagerly engaged to bear arms in person. Others no less anxious took the charge of providing men, horses, muskets, and pay; and those who were otherwise unable to assist, threw in their pecuniary mite to increase the general fund. Even the women contributed from the stock of their personal ornaments, and exerted their influence in the abolition of royalty.

Although all this was somewhat short of the general rising, so strongly recommended to them by the Earl, yet it was a new and considerable nerve of strength to the parliament; and shewed an attachment and readiness upon
which

which reliance might be had with safety. That this reliance might be well founded, was moreover manifest by the punctuality with which the assessments were raised; and by the alertness with which upon every occasion, however remote, they hastened with their voluntary contributions.

In less than seven years, what had been levied upon the inhabitants of Colchester by the order of parliament, amounted to more than thirty thousand pounds; and the several sums collected by way of assistance and relief for the protestants in Ireland, the brethren in Scotland, the necessities of the army, and other occasions both public and private, nearly as much more.

Large as this pecuniary assistance was, yet it received addition from other sources. Such of the inhabitants as signified not their assent to the measures of their zealous brethren by the ready payment of whatever was demanded, were stigmatized with the name of delinquents, and their estates unjustly sequestered.

Among

Among those thus violently dealt with, were Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Henry Audeley, and many others whose yearly revenues were considerable. By this sequestration, they lost two thirds of their annual income, which being placed to the general fund, was the occasion of no despicable increase.

By such exertions as these; (which, however great, were equalled through scarce excelled in other parts of the kingdom,) by the able conduct of the generals appointed by the parliament, and by the overheated enthusiasm of the soldiery, thoroughly resolute in the destruction of royalty, and in the establishing a republican system of government, few obstacles remained to prevent a completion of their labours.

Those who engage in an arduous enterprise, that requires a hasty determination, and a sudden commencement, upon arriving within view of the object of their aim, generally reflect upon the consequences that are to ensue; and as in the eager pursuit of their course they

they may have left far behind them the cause which originally impelled them to action, not unfrequently are induced to relinquish their designs, and either reinstate what they had misplaced, or prevent others from completing what they should leave unfinished. Some also who have joined in assisting the furtherance of a work, urged by motives dissimilar from the original framers of it, finding their ends answered when to those the business shall be in an unripe and immature state, withdraw themselves, and enter into leagues and combinations, to hinder and obstruct the further prosecution of what they deem already perfect.

It was thus with the active men, and with the public affairs of England at this period. While some were precipitately hurrying on to the last extremity, and seeking to stake their unquenchable hate to royalty in the blood of the unfortunate Charles; others, more moderate in their revenge, thought enough had been sacrificed at the altar of public liberty, and at the shrine of violated justice.

To

To restrain the resolute impetuosity, and check the fatal progress of the former of these, such of the latter as maintained a degree of consequence and intrepidity suited to the occasion; stood forth in the dangerous gap, as the champions of the ancient constitution, and as the assertors of the infringed natural rights of the people: in which hazardous and praiseworthy enterprise they were joined by such as feared the unexperienced consequences of a republican system of government, and by such of the adherents to royalty as were yet unsubdued by the toils of war, the desperate and hopeless state of their cause, or the sword of the victorious parliament.

The earliest of these efforts were made in Wales and in Scotland; afterwards in Surry, Kent, and divers other parts of the kingdom.

The prosecution of this patriotic design in Kent, in the legal and constitutional way that had been adopted, being obstructed by the threats and orders of parliament; the chief actors in it had recourse to arms, and shewed a becoming

becoming and resolute spirit in supporting and in manifesting the reasonableness and integrity of their intentions.

The alarm occasioned by the steady resolution which evidently appeared to actuate the councils, and energize the proceedings of these men, reached afar, and spread a fear which infected with its contagion the parliament itself; intrenched as it was by success, and powerfully defended no less by enthusiastic oratory than the sword. In hourly expectation of the arrival of this formidable association, with the scroll of their request, and the sword of personal protection, the parliament ordered Sir Thomas Fairfax with the forces under his command into Kent, to put an end to demands they could not refuse granting, and to ward off the effects of a vengeance they were conscious of having merited.

Several slight engagements ensued, and the Kentish men in the absence of their general, George Goring, Earl of Norwich, having

ing advanced as far as Greenwich, and being denied a passage through the city, began to disperse. Of these, however, about six hundred passed over the Thames, and after some few interruptions proceeded into Essex, where their numbers soon after received considerable increase by the arrival of Sir Charles Lucas with the forces he had raised, and by the junction of several other detached parties from various quarters.

The further they advanced into the county, the more earnest every one they met seemed, in forwarding the same enterprise with themselves. At Chelmsford the committee of parliament, become odious by its proceedings, had been seized, and put in confinement; and the most active men in the county were then assembled, to prosecute what appeared the general determination.

Of these, Arthur Lord Capel, Henry Hastings Lord Loughborough, and many gentlemen from Hertfordshire, joined themselves to the Kentish men, and Sir Charles Lucas; then
advanced

advanced to their seat in conference. This new addition of weight and consequence was not a little enhanced by the arrival of a party of 120 horse from Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire, and of 50 gentlemen with their horses and arms from London, who resolutely had forced a passage through all opposition.

The forces of the Lord Goring were now increased to about 3400 foot, (of which number 2500 were well armed and appointed,) and 600 horse*. This being insufficient to cope with the army of Sir Thomas Fairfax, which was close in pursuit, it was resolved to proceed to Colchester, where there was a probability of finding many who would engage in the general cause.

This Resolution being taken they advanced towards it; and were now arrived within a few miles, when Sir Charles Lucas receiving intelligence that entrance would be denied, a party was dispatched to secure the

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avenues

* 6000 horse and foot.—Diary of the Siege, published by authority.

avenues and gates. This body, being small, was insufficient to execute the orders it had received; and Sir Charles Lucas, to learn the state of the opposition, with several other gentlemen, hastened forwards and found the gate shut, and a guard of horse placed for its protection. As an additional security, a turnpike had been erected across the road, and guards planted without. These, four or five of the gentlemen who had accompanied Sir Charles Lucas, keeping on their speed, and drawing their swords, resolutely attacked, and drove within the barricado, from whence also they soon after withdrew.

The main body of the army presently arriving, Sir Charles Lucas drew out two or three troops of horse for the attack of the guards stationed at the gate; which when the inhabitants perceived, not willing to abide a resistance that must have been in the event fruitless, they prudently desisted from any further opposition, and delivered up to him the town, their horses, arms, and all other war-like stores and accoutrements.

Immediately

Immediately the gates were thrown open, and the forces of the Lord Goring, distributed in various quarters. Guards were placed upon the walls, and at every postern; and in a few hours, notwithstanding the defenceless state of the battlements, every thing assumed the face of war, and indicated a vigorous resistance.

The ensuing night, was the only one allotted to the Lord Goring and his army, to recruit themselves from fatigue, and to enjoy a short repose, undisturbed by the clamour and alarm of war. For on the morrow, Sir ^{June} Thomas Fairfax at the head of the parlia-¹³ment forces and the associated soldiery of the county, pursuing the track of the Lord Goring, advanced within a small distance of the walls, and summoned him to surrender by a message to the following purport.

“My Lord, I am come hither with the parliament forces, to reduce those under your command, to the obedience of the parlia-

ment. If your Lordship, and those under you, will instantly lay down your arms, there may be a prevention of much blood-shed, and the town preserved from plunder and ruin: the evil must lie upon you if you refuse."

To which message the Lord Goring, forgetting his rank and station, and the seriousness of the occasion, impolitely stirred up the wrath of Fairfax and his associates by the terms of a scoffing answer; sneeringly demanding of the trumpeter, how his General did; telling him, that he had heard he was ill of the gout, but that he would cure him of all diseases.

This ill-timed buffoonery, added to the fierceness of the attack which immediately ensued. Before the guards could be reinforced, or any additional preparations made to ward off the effects of the Lord Goring's imprudence; the word was given, and the assault commenced.

The

The parties placed in the suburbs towards Lexden, were the first to sustain the fury of an onset, which without the exertions of an unexampled vigour, would have overpowered all resistance. The earnestness and ferocity of the attack, and the general alarm occasioned by its continuance, summoned all the force of the Lord Goring to the royal standard, from whence parties of horse and foot were dispatched under the conduct of Colonel Farre, to support and relieve those that were engaged.

This served as oil to the flame, and rendered the contest more obstinate. The battle extended itself, and the assault became general upon the western quarter of the town.

Had the Lord Goring's forces been at this instant properly supplied with ammunition, the consequences might have been fatal to Fairfax. But those who had maintained by an incessant fire, a station which prevented an assault upon the principal gate, having expended their powder and ball, were compelled

to abandon their holds*, and retire. At which instant, a regiment of foot headed by Colonel Barkstead, quickly advancing, broke through all opposition, and forced an entrance in the gates with those who had retreated.

Here the confusion may be better imagined than described. The soldiery about to abandon the defence of the gate, were prevented by the example of their officers and the gentlemen of the army. These, laying aside all distinction, except that of embracing danger, rushed forward with their pikes, into the midst of the obstructing battle. Among the foremost upon this occasion was the Lord Capel, whom, height and strength of body, no less than personal courage, fitted for the encounter. By the exertions of this party, and of the soldiers, who caught a spirit of emulation from these intrepid leaders, a passage was effected through the tumult, and the gates closed.

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* The Crouched Friars, the residence of Sir Harbottle Grimstone; and St. Catharine's Hospital,

In the confusion that reigned at this instant, no bar could be found to secure the closed gate, and a cane of the Lord Capel's served to prevent the re-entrance of the enemy; and with them of a considerable part of Colonel Farre's regiment, which had been drawn forth for the defence of the suburbs, and Sir William Leyton, and Lieut. Colonel Rawlins and the out guards they commanded.

Thus disappointed in their well pointed attempt, the forces of Fairfax directed their attention to the excluded troops; and securing them prisoners, renewed the attack with increased fierceness, in hopes of accomplishing their design of forcing an entrance.

For this purpose they brought a piece of ordnance, and daringly approached so near as to discharge their muskets under the gates; and over them to annoy those within by stones and other missiles.

But now that the Lord Goring's forces had secured this important entrance, they renewed their

their efforts to repulse the assailants; who, exposed on all sides could neither complete their enterprise, or retreat without much hazard and certain loss. It was, nevertheless, impossible for them to remain in their present situation, without experiencing a total destruction; as the storm thickened, and from the walls and adjacent houses poured in a continued volley upon their heads. Suddenly therefore, perceiving the impending danger, they cast down their arms, and betook themselves to a precipitate flight; regardless of every thing till they had attained a place of safety.

At this juncture had the Lord Goring sallied forth with a strong party, to pursue and cut off the fugitives, terror and confusion would in all probability have been spread through the whole army of Fairfax, and a total discomfiture ensued. This measure, although thought of, and intended at the time, was from some strange fatality, unaccountably omitted; and the dismayed troops of Fairfax were suffered quietly to secure themselves from

from danger, and brood over the means of a severe revenge.

The fight having continued with such obstinacy seven or eight hours, gives occasion for wonder that so few people were destroyed. Of the army of Fairfax, the regiments of Colonel Barkstead and Colonel Needham being ordered to assault the gate and force an entrance, were the chief sufferers. These consisting of about 1200 men, were considerably diminished, and suffered in the loss of one of their leaders, Colonel Needham, who with many other officers, were slain during the heat of the engagement, and in the retreat*.

Of the troops of the Lord Goring no more than 80† were destroyed; but the smallness of this loss was abundantly made up in the deaths of Colonel Sir William Campian and Colonel Cooke, who both fell in the first onset,

* Carter makes their loss to have been about 700, besides the wounded and prisoners; whilst their own account reduces it, for reasons evidently political, to near 100.

† The Diary gives this number; Carter says about 40.

onset, and in a considerable number made prisoners *. On the other side, about 130 were taken prisoners; which were probably of the number of the wounded, either incapable of reaching a place of security, or of not sufficient consequence to be carried off, in the general retreat.

It was near dark when the forces of Fairfax retired. Chagrined, defeated, and smarting under their wounds, ere they took their leave, they set on fire some houses near the gate, hoping the wind would favour their attempt, and cause not only the gate, but the whole town to be enveloped in a general destruction. In this malignant scheme, (however authorised by the rules of war,) they were again defeated. The activity of the Lord Goring's forces, subdued the fierceness
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* The papers printed by authority, make the amount of the prisoners taken by the parliament forces to be 320, besides officers and gentlemen; but this was either exaggerated through policy, or was meant to include the whole number taken from the beginning. Carter makes no more than 80, many escaping during the confusion of the retreat.

of the flames, and rescued the inhabitants from indiscriminate ruin.

The retreat of Fairfax was made towards Lexden, and was not performed in such haste, but that sufficient opportunity occurred for the committing acts of disorder and inhumanity in the suburbs; which although the residence of the poorer sort of people, who were inclined rather to assist, than prevent their operations, escaped not plunder and desolation. Many were killed for refusing to discover the wealth they neither possessed nor had hidden, and others through the wantonness of tyranny, cruelty, and fancied revenge.

On the morning, the scene of the preceding day's slaughter was surveyed. Of the dead, except those who were discriminated by rank or affection, some were huddled confusedly into ditches, and others into wells, and places that gave a ready admission: not a few (some perhaps the object of private hatred) were suffered to remain unburied,
till

'till the noisomeness of the stench, overpowering every objection, compelled removal and interment. The arms, amounting to 500, and other warlike implements, were gathered together, and with the piece of ordnance brought for forcing the gate, put to the stores of the Lord Goring.

From the rancorous conduct of the troops of Fairfax shewn in this retreat, the houses in the suburbs were become empty. The men dismayed, wandered about for shelter; and the women and children, terrified by the scene of blood, and the expectation of further cruelty, fled into the country.

Fairfax having withdrawn his forces to Lexden, ruminated upon the most effectual methods to be pursued in expelling the Lord Goring from his station. Finding by the experience of the past day, how unequal he was to the storming and carrying by assault, a place defended by such resolute men; he formed the design of cutting off from it every source of provision and relief, and of wearing
out

out by fatigue and famine those whom he was unable otherwise to subdue.

In prosecution of which, he determined upon fixing his head quarters in the village where he then was, both for the conveniency of the plain that extended behind it, where the chief of his forces might conveniently lie, and to prevent any aid, which might be most expected from London, arriving to the assistance of the Lord Goring.

To protect these quarters from occasional sallies, a fort was constructed in the road, and barricados thrown across the highways that led from the western part of the town. A strong party of horse was also ordered to secure the Cambridge road, on the opposite side of the river, lest any should escape by that route to join their associates in arms in other parts of the kingdom, or to intercede for assistance and support.

The precautions of Fairfax, were those of an experienced and well informed general,
and

and his subsequent orders shewed his abilities to execute the design he had formed. The forces of the county, had been placed at Chelmsford and Malden, and those of Suffolk at Nayland, Stratford, and Cattaway; by which arrangement all escape and assistance was prevented, except on that quarter which lay towards the sea. And that even this avenue to hope might not be unguarded, the commanders of the parliament ships of war were ordered to cruize off the entrance of the harbour, and a party of horse was sent to possess themselves of Mersea Island, and of a fort erected at the east end of it.

Although in the present state of affairs, the possession of this island was of little consequence to the Lord Goring and his friends; yet, apprehending the fate that awaited them, and perceiving the net Fairfax was planting for their destruction, Colonel Tuke was dispatched with a strong party to secure it, who arrived fruitlessly an hour after it had been taken possession of by the enemy.

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The ensuing night, the troops of Fairfax drew nearer in their approach, but with a prudent caution suited to their design. A space of ground situate to the south-west of the town, appeared convenient for the erection of the first fort. Hither the soldiers repaired, and under the cover of darkness began a work, which being incomplete when the morning arose, was furiously assaulted by the cannon from the walls, and the royal fort at St. Mary's*. Many soldiers straggling about the fields, and at labour, were killed by this firing, but it prevented not the work from receiving its finish, and the destined complement of its ordnance†.

With the same caution the following night June the ground was broke upon an adjoining^{16.} hill‡, and a strong guard stationed in the cavity; which practice the soldiers renewed every night, securing the most advantageous

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* Probably made in the church-yard.

† This fort was called Effex, and stood in the Sholand.

‡ Called the Warren, or Hanging Field.

places, and continuing their line from one redoubt and fort to another.

By this time the forces of the Lord Goring, well perceived the intention of Fairfax, and saw no hopes of a speedy termination of their affairs, or any avenue by which they might pursue their projected course. Compelled, therefore, to abide in an ill-provided and defenceless town, they cheerfully began to supply themselves with the necessary articles of life, while the distant approaches of Fairfax permitted, and to remedy the defects of the fortifications; which in many places were miserably decayed, and insufficient to prevent an attack from being a serious and awful event.

To effect the first of these purposes, they examined with secrecy and expedition the most distant parts of the suburbs first. At the Hythe, collected for the purpose of exportation, many stores of corn, wine, salt, fish, and gunpowder were fortunately discovered, which latter article, more if possible
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than the others, was a welcome acquisition. All these, with several private stores, were conveyed with as little parade as possible into a general magazine in the town, and put under the keeping of commissaries appointed by the Lord Goring. The ruinous state of the walls in many parts, required equal exertion and expedition. Several places were strengthened as well as the time would permit, and the most decayed, fortified by ramparts and counterescarpes constructed within the line.

Had it been consistent with the general interest of the cause, for the advancement of which the Lord Goring and the other gentlemen concerned with him, had risked their fortunes and lives; the most prudent step they could have taken would have been, ere the forces of Fairfax were increased, to have hazarded the result of an engagement; but as the state of their affairs, might from procrastinating the final issue be considerably amended, it was more rational to abide the consequences, however distressing and terrible,

ble, of a close investment, than lose all by a defeat which they were not ensured against.

And now all the troops that could be spared from other services, were sent to assist the army of Fairfax. One regiment of horse, and four of foot of the Suffolk forces made no inconsiderable addition to its strength. These, commanded by Colonel Gurdon, Sir Thomas Barnardiston, Fothergill, Harvey, and Bloise, took their stations and erected forts for their security upon the chief eminences on the north side of the town, having the river at a little distance in their front; and with the assistance of Rainsborough, completed the blockade between the highways leading to Nayland and Stratford.

By this reinforcement, the army of Fairfax was made superior to that of the Lord Goring; which, except in horse, was, before this junction, nearly upon an equality with it. The constraint occasioned by this new accumulation of force, was immediately felt. A considerable

derable quantity of cattle, corn, and other provisions had been gathered by the foraging parties, in the hundred of Tendring; which lay extended to the eastward of the town. Although insufficient totally to prevent excursions in search of the necessary articles of food, yet, these troops by their vigilance restrained the frequency of them, and prevented their being so prolific, as they had hitherto been.

This increase of numbers, tempted not June Fairfax to alter his resolution, and hazard^{18.} an assault. The arrival of Colonel Ewer with six companies from Chepstow Castle, and other parties that continually kept increasing the magnitude of his force, was insufficient to elate him above the ordinary bounds of a cautious prudence, and a circumspect and wary mode of action.

As little on the other hand, was the party June of the Lord Goring depressed, by the defeat^{19.} of a body of five or six hundred men raised for their assistance. These, commanded by Ma-

jor Muschamp, were, by a detachment from the army of Fairfax, completely dispersed at Linton, with the loss of their leader who fell in the engagement.

At the time the forces of the Lord Goring passed through Chelmsford, the committee of parliament met there for the execution of business, was put under arrest, and conveyed with the army to Colchester. The persons who formed this committee, yet remained in confinement; and, probably fearing that they should taste the disagreeable fruit of retribution, if any instance of cruelty demanded it, or fall sacrifices in the general destruction, that seemed to await the town; obtained leave of the Lord Goring, the Lord Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas, to become mediators for a peace.

These intentions of the committee, however laudable, were in the event frustrated by the explanation of what kind of peace it was that the Lord Goring desired and would accept. The general peace of the kingdom, being
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the original cause that intigated the chief of his party to have recourse to arms; any treaty that tended not to establish it, but had a reference merely to the cessation of hostilities between them and the army of Fairfax, by being unproductive of what they had fought and run every hazard to obtain, would naturally prove abortive.

But as a proper opportunity offered of proposing terms of surrender to the Lord Goring, without seeming to descend from an assurance of conquest and victory; Fairfax gave him to understand the conditions he would grant. These were, that all of the rank of common soldiers, should have liberty to go to their several homes; and the officers and commanders into voluntary exile, engaging not to return without the leave of parliament.

By these proposals, it is probable, Fairfax endeavoured to excite sedition and revolt in the troops of the Lord Goring, and to reap in the confusion a victory in which hazard and danger would be nearly excluded. This

seems evident by the solemnity of his caution to the Lord Goring, against concealment of the terms from any that were concerned; and by his causing them to be read with military ceremony, at the head of every troop and regiment of his own army: by such proceeding, effecting the double purpose of a more complete publication, and an ostentatious display of clemency to those whom he wished to have thought as hampered in his toils.

This presumption of Fairfax, however flattering to him from the credulity of his officers; the Lords Goring and Capell, and Sir Charles Lucas, would by no means allow. Dictating their answer, therefore, as men void of fear or restraint, they informed him that their intentions of restoring the peace of the kingdom, had been rightly apprehended, and that they believed to both armies would be "the most pious easie and honourable action, wherein they could be engaged." The surprise occasioned by the offer of conditions to them in particular, they did not neglect to mention

mention in strong and indignant terms; and in the ardour of resentment, for such insult, these terms were retorted upon the enemy, as what the present situation of affairs rather authorised *them* to propose, and the fortune of war might, in the event, have shewn prudence in Fairfax to have accepted.

Yet neither this, or the defiance with which they closed their answer to Fairfax, was capable of rousing him to a more expeditious mode of conducting his assault. Fear, or extreme prudence and deliberate coolness, must have on this occasion, when the nicest feelings that actuate the human mind were so evidently touched, smothered every spark of private anger and resentment; or so far, for a time at least, restrained their impetuosity, as that no visible effect was produced in his proceedings, which he continued with the same regularity and unremitting leisureness.

By the lines which now were arriving at completion, all intercourse with the country was barred. Trade and commerce were at
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an end, and the merchants, assailed by the clamour and cries of those whose daily labour produced their daily bread, first began to feel the horrors of their situation. Unable to vend their manufactures, and equally unable to resist the importunate cries of their workmen, they petitioned Fairfax to have leave of continuing their trade to London. This, although unusual, the humanity of Fairfax, working against his deliberate policy, partly allowed, and he permitted a market for the manufactures of the town to be established by the merchants at Lexden, where the officers and gentlemen of his army, through commiseration no less than private advantage, became purchasers.

While these things were transacting, recourse was had by the Lord Goring to every measure from whence assistance might be derived. Many gentlemen were privately dispatched with commissions to raise men in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. They intrepidly adventured, notwithstanding the extreme hazard, to pass through the quarters
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of the enemy; but after effecting it, the great precaution that had been taken of having the passes strictly watched and guarded, and the bridges destroyed, prevented their progress, and compelled them to retire, and again tempt that danger from which they had so well escaped.

The active and daring spirit that animated the forces of the Lord Goring, was also at this period, shewn by other exploits; which although in some degree dictated by the necessity of situation, from the manner of their performance, manifested no small share of military skill, valour, and resolution. That hive, the hundred of Tendring, so often before explored, and which had been so fruitful to them, they again searched. Passing forth in the night they returned on the morrow with 100 sheep and 60 oxen, which they procured in that district, and notwithstanding the greatness of the number, conveyed them with safety into the town.

This practice was not solely confined to the hundred of Tendring. Another party more
openly

openly, but during the night, sallied forth at the north gate, and forcing through the enemy's quarters, proceeded into the country. Here, by the orders of Sir Charles Lucas, they gathered cattle and provision from none but the rigid adherents to the measures of the parliament; nevertheless they collected above 50 oxen and cows, besides sheep, corn, and other provisions, and thus laden and incumbered, in the morning hardily passed the enemy: securing, with the loss of two men only, their charge, which they safely conducted to the general store.

These exploits were renewed every night, but were more or less productive as circumstances happened. Others were also projected that tended to increase their strength. A party of men had been raised in the country by commission from Sir Charles Lucas; the person who had the charge of the affair would have betrayed them to the enemy, which the countrymen perceiving, they dispatched two of their body to Sir Charles Lucas, requesting the aid of some horse and foot to conduct them

them with safety. Under cover of the night a party sallied forth, and eluding the guards stationed upon the north side of the town, gained the country; and after a week's stay spent in levying the troops and in preparations, returned towards Colchester. At the river Stour, which they had to pass, the Suffolk forces lay strongly encamped; notwithstanding which, this band, with the new levies, resolutely forced through their quarters, and completed the expedition without loss.

These frequent sallies, upon the variety of occasions that offered, perpetrated seemingly in scorn, and as it were in mockery of the forces that pretended to hem the town about, and the success with which they were invariably attended, vexed and galled the parliament army more than a more serious matter would probably have done: as notwithstanding the toil and labour they had sustained, and the danger they had encountered, the besieged seemed not to suffer restraint, or to be controuled in their actions; until which, the assailants justly concluded nothing material had been effected.

Immediately

Immediately therefore, drawing their forces nearer the town, and binding the cincture of investment more strongly around the object of their anger, all future opportunities of the like nature as the past, vanished. The Hythe, however, not yet totally emptied of its stores, remained with the Lord Goring; and the guards stationed there, kept out the enemy while it was worth defending.

June The Lord Goring, seeing the chief of his
 22. danger was to be apprehended from the manner in which the passes of escape were watched and guarded by the country soldiers; with the Lord Capel and Sir Charles Lucas, sent a summons to the Suffolk forces, which secured the two outlets of Stratford and Cattaway, assuring them that their intentions were no other than to restore the laws of the land, the proper interest of both king and people, and to effect a general and well grounded peace. *The parliament and army* was, however, yet to supersede the best reasons, the best arguments, and the best intentions; and the Suffolk

folk forces in their answer adhered to the absurd and prevalent doctrine.

Confined and restricted in their usual roving, the forces of the Lord Goring turned their attention to speculate in what more immediately lay within their reach. A fort was begun near the Shepen, and the soldiers of the parliament army were now busily employed in perfecting it. This was intended for the reception of Colonel Ewer and his party, and curiosity incited about 100 of the Lord Goring's troops to inspect it. This bold attempt, however, being rashly concerted, met with no success; and although performed in the night, was attended with an immediate repulse: yet not without loss to the besiegers, two of whom fell by the cannonading that covered the retreat of the assailants.

The quarter upon which this attempt was June made, had become the most troublesome, ^{23.} inasmuch as by the works that were constructing there, the forces of the Lord Goring would

would be cooped up, and prevented a passage at the north bridge with the usual safety. On the morrow, this was realised; for, from a new fort, that was then completed, called Fort Ingoldsby, much annoyance was experienced from the cannon, and the bridge rendered a dangerous passage.

Before Fairfax began to contract his lines in a still less compass, he thought it expedient to repeat the same terms of surrender he had before set forth to the committee that applied: excepting thereout the Lords Goring and Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas. The solemnity and awe of his approach, he doubtless apprehended would by this time have operated with the minds of those unused to the terrors of war and famine; and have compelled them, in their hopeless state, to have acceded to his demands, before they were overwhelmed with a fate they could in no wise avoid.

June Yet as all this availed nothing to men,
 24. whom neither threats or the arts of policy
 could

could subdue, it only remained with Fairfax to proceed to those dreaded extremities. The first step towards which, was to gird the town in yet stronger with his forces: and for this purpose he ordered the Suffolk troops to leave their distant stations and form an encampment nearer, to intercept all future sallies, relief, or escape. This, although unwillingly, was complied with; and a large body of 2500 horse and foot, advanced to a heath*, at about a mile distance from the north gate, where they intrenched themselves.

The soldiers of the Lord Goring soon felt what a check this movement gave to the scope of their actions; for pursuing their daily sallies, they unexpectedly fell in with this new reinforcement, by which they were repulsed and driven back with the loss of two men killed and twenty taken prisoners.

The ill-furnished state of the magazines of the Lord Goring, in respect to warlike stores, made it incumbent upon the soldiers to fur-

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nish

* Mile-End heath.

nish themselves with ball for their muskets, of their own rough and clumsy manufacture. Some of the prisoners taken in the late encounter, having balls of this kind, occasioned a charge to be brought against the Lord Goring of inhumanly causing chewed and poisoned bullets rolled in sand to be delivered out of the stores. This diabolical practice, by which slight wounds are rendered mortal, and the terrors and calamities of war doubled, although endeavoured by the solemn oaths of two deserters to be fixed upon the Lord Goring and Sir Charles Lucas, was so contrary to their acknowledged tenderness, humanity, and honour, as to be little less than an impossibility: yet, rough cast slugs, being "the best they could send on the sudden," they owned having used, urged by necessity from the scanty state of their ammunition.

June 26. The check the besieged had met with in their excursions upon the north side of the town, occasioned them to project their future ones in another quarter. Sallying from Headgate into the street which led towards Londen,

den, they were assaulted by Colonel Barkstead, whose detachment was stationed that way, and driven back from their hedges to their court of guard. The victorious party fired the guard-house, and finding no other trophy, carried off the hour-glass by which the soldiers performed their duty, as the memorial of their conquest.

The anxiety and sufferings of individuals in their relative connexions, although in some degree smothered by the general distress of war and bloodshed, speaks with a still voice through the surrounding clamour immediately to the heart. The circumstance of Sir William Campian's death, who at the early age of 34 had fallen in the first encounter at Colchester, was known only by uncertain rumour to the Lady Campian his wife. Braving the insults of an hostile camp, she applied to Fairfax and obtained leave to send a servant with a letter into the town, to be assured of what in the certainty possessed terrors less formidable than in the expectation.

The troops of Fairfax were now busily employed in erecting a work to the eastward of Fort Effex, which was afterwards called Barkstead Fort. As this was perceived by the besieged, and from its proximity to Head-gate, which it in some degree commanded, was justly expected would prove of considerable annoyance; interruption was projected and instantly put in execution. A party of horse sallied forth early in the morning, but receiving a sudden check from the horse-guard stationed near St. Mary's, were compelled to retire, without effecting more of their design, than slaying a poor scout, who fell a sacrifice in the execution of his dangerous employment.

June 28. But as the work advanced apace, and was becoming a more serious object, on the morrow the besieged earnestly, from the walls, applied their great cannon in attempts to destroy it. A strong party of men also, which had taken possession of Sir Harbottle Grimstone's house *, greatly annoyed the people
at

* Formerly the monastery of Crouched Friars.

at their work with small shot. The destruction among the soldiers of Fairfax, occasioned by these measures was considerable, and to dislodge the forces from the house of Sir H. Grimstone, as well as to revenge the injury sustained by them, Fairfax commanded the cannon of Fort Essex to be turned against it. The shot, which flew through and through the structure, soon rendered it untenable, and the soldiers stationed there, after deliberately setting it on fire, leisurely retired to more safe quarters.

As the approaches on the south side of the town were rapidly advancing, the forces of the Lord Goring were compelled to withdraw to the suburbs more immediately under the walls; and that their enemies might not derive any advantage from the stations they should evacuate, in the night, before they retired, fire was applied to the most considerable buildings*.

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* A large building, the residence of Mr. Barrington, where now stands Winsley's Hospital, was one consumed this night.

The usual fallies were now made at places not hitherto attempted: but as the soldiers of Fairfax had become more experienced in the mode of the Lord Goring's operations, and foreseeing on what quarter the next efforts might be expected, an ambuscade was formed to prevent by stratagem, what open violence tended not even to restrain. A party of the Lord Goring's horse hastily advancing with their usual boldness and intrepidity at the east gate, and taking their course incautiously over the bridge, fell unawares into the snare prepared for them by a body of dragoons. In the sudden conflict which ensued, Lieutenant Colonel Hatchet, and several other officers and soldiers fell; overcome by a crafty surprize they were not prepared to encounter.

July 1. As the besieged had shown an inclination to make their excursions upon this quarter, it in some measure convinced Fairfax that they deemed it the least guarded; and as the hundred of Tending, from whence the besieged had drawn considerable supplies, was approached

approached by this avenue, Colonel Whalley was ordered to possess himself of the church of Greenstead, and erect a battery there.

Thus restrained, Fairfax apprehended a July renewal of the attempts on the north quarter^{2.} of the town; and as he had received intelligence that the besieged intended to endeavour at escape by forcing his lines, he doubled his guards during the night, in those places where he supposed the effort was to be made.

But the execution of this project, if thought July of by the Lord Goring, at this time was un-^{5.} attempted: and as the severity of the restraint with which the town was environed began to be more felt, it was deemed necessary to inspect the internal sources of defence that remained, and to endeavour at consolidating them, for greater energy of action, upon future occasions that might be propitious. All such of the inhabitants as were willing to engage in the general danger, were accordingly invited by proclamation from

the council of war, to enlist under the several officers deputed by Sir Charles Lucas to command them, and to serve upon the line for its defence. Those who should be averse to such a measure were commanded to bring all arms and warlike stores they might possess to the general magazine, and not retain any on pain of death.

Notwithstanding the daily sallies and skirmishes which were yet upon every opportunity continued, the gradual approaches of Fairfax had brought his soldiers into the street below east bridge; where they immediately took possession of a water mill, and placed a strong guard to secure the passage of the river.

A favourable opportunity now offered of projecting an incendiary scheme, whereby the officers and soldiers of the Lord Goring who quartered and guarded in the suburbs might be effectually dislodged without danger. Fire was given to a tanner's house and barn on the opposite bank of the river, in hopes that
the

the conflagration might be general in the street that led from thence to the east gate. This worthy design was however thwarted, and the attempt ceased where it had commenced.

The soldiery who had the care and protection of the suburbs on this side of the town, soon, from this and other circumstances, judged it necessary to disturb the tranquillity of their new neighbours; and upon applying to the council of war, a resolute fally was projected, and put in execution.

The command of this business was given to Sir Charles Lucas, who with 200 horse, and a party of 500 foot under the direction of Sir George Lisle, issued forth at the east gate, and advanced to the river. The parliamentarian soldiers had secured themselves in the houses on both sides the street below the bridge, and had formed a barricado across the road at the foot of it, and planted drakes† behind,

† A small piece of brass ordnance.

behind, for its defence. A forlorn party was drawn forth and ordered by Sir Charles Lucas to begin the attack. The case shot from the drakes, and small shot of the muskets flew thick as the forlorn advanced, which nevertheless, as in sport, kept on, and in a single file over the foot bridge passed the river, and in the same instant mounted the barricado. Here, overturning the drakes, and beating off the guard, they advanced into the street which was nearly full of soldiers, and making a furious charge, drove them beyond the guard-houses, and in the disorder which ensued, surrounded, and took most of them prisoners*.

Whilst all this was transacting, the rest of the party under the command of Sir Charles Lucas, made good the charge, and cleared the whole street. The alarm given to the parliamentary army by these proceedings, was general, and occasioned an immediate rally of all their forces on that side the river.

A full

* The Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, and 80 soldiers, with all the other inferior officers. Morant, p. 64.

A full and orderly body of horse and foot was formed behind a wind-mill upon the hill, from whence, after stationing there a reserve and leaving their colours and pikes, they proceeded to the opposite hill near St. Ann's Chapel, in the front of the street from whence they had been expelled. Here meeting Sir Charles Lucas in the career of victory, a sudden discomfiture ensued, and they were dispersed in much confusion, together with the reserve which was to have given them support.

The military skill of the parliamentary officers was at this instant well exerted, and in all probability saved the party from utter ruin. Their horse, which they soon rallied, they divided into three bodies, one division to keep the field against the enemy, and the other two to be in continual motion to drive up to action the dispersed soldiery. Gaining the protection of a thick hedge, and compelled by their own horse, they made head anew; which Sir Charles Lucas perceiving
and

and being unwilling to pursue hazard without advantage, he prudently founded a retreat.

Nevertheless, some few heated by the encounter, under the slight cover of a thin hedge, rashly advanced and continued the engagement. Here having spent their ammunition, and a soldier ignorant of the consequences, calling aloud for a supply, a party of Colonel Whalley's horse that had kept the field between, instantly made a charge upon them through the hedge, and put a considerable number to the sword. Sir Charles Lucas perceiving the disorder that had arisen, instantly faced about, and after receiving the charge, retorted finally with such undaunted courage, as to put the matter to a speedy issue; and leisurely retiring, finished the purpose of his expedition in a brave, honourable, and complete manner.

Sir George Lisle, whose impetuosity was not to be restrained by the fear of danger, was once in this action taken prisoner, but immediately rescued; and the whole loss
sustained

sustained by the Lord Goring in this encounter, was one captain, one lieutenant, and about 80* soldiers taken prisoners, of which 20 died of their wounds the following day, and 19† killed.

Of the soldiers of Fairfax upwards of 80‡ were made prisoners, and above 200 killed. In the number of the latter was Colonel Shambrooke who had succeeded to Colonel Needham's regiment; and the wounded, which were not a few, by their deaths, added considerably to the list. Upon the whole the loss to the parliamentarians, was affirmed by the soldiers that deserted, to be at the least 500, besides many that through terror and fatigue either came into the town, or secretly departed to their homes. The country forces in particular, unused to the damp and uncomfortable lodging of a trench, began to find no pleasure in a service which had ceased to be novel, and was become dangerous; and therefore

* The Diary gives this number, other accounts say 30.

† The Diary gives this number, as killed in the repulse by Whalley's horse.

‡ The Diary says 40.

therefore gladly engaged substitutes at high wages to be allowed to depart.

The night following, Fairfax ordered the leager where the last sally had been made, to be strengthened. The soldiers also, finding the enemy had passed the river, took possession of their old quarters, and planted a stronger party there than they had before done. The attempt to set the suburbs between them and the east gate on fire they again renewed, but the guards placed on the opposite bank, by Sir Charles Lucas in his retreat, not only rendered their intentions abortive, but by the proximity of their situation, gave them great disturbance.

Fairfax found that notwithstanding all his precautions, the Lord Goring had met with an unexpected quantity of corn, and other provisions. As he rightly concluded that without mills to prepare the former, it would be nearly useless, orders were issued to destroy all the wind mills, which this night was performed by setting them on fire.

Horfe

Horfe mills were immediately erected, and the deficiency well fupplied. The ftones neceffary in their conftruction, were difcovered at the Hythe, that general and well furnifhed ftore-houfe, while it yet remained with the Lord Goring. The water mill below the north bridge was imagined to be the only one left undeftroyed, and meafures were concerted to ruin this alfo. Horn works and redoubts were raifed on the north fide of the leager, running the trench up to them from the river fide, over againft the warren. Here feveral large cannon were planted, and a violent bombardment enfued againft the mill, but with little effect.

It was well conceived that if a complete deftruction of all the mills could have been effected, a mutiny for want of bread would have arifen amongft the foldiers, which by the aid of the inhabitants who “wère always ready to fecond” fuch motions, and of the incendiaries who had privately infinuated themfelves into the town, would have enfured a conquelt without hazard. But from
the

the fortunate circumstance of gaining millstones for the horse mills, and by the diligent care of the Lord Loughborough, who had undertaken to inspect the preparation and delivery of the daily provisions for the army and inhabitants, nothing was derived to Fairfax, but much toil and fruitless labour.

It is remarkable that in this humane toil, the Lord Loughborough should receive no assistance from the magistrates, although urged to a participation in the same labour, so far as related to providing for the numerous and distressed inhabitants. Equally unaffailable by threats or persuasions, they carelessly, as well as unfeelingly, permitted others to perform a task which it was their peculiar duty not to neglect.

In consequence of this inattention in the magistrates, the poor, clamorous only thro' necessity, began to assemble in hopes of receiving help and commiseration from the humanity and nice feelings of the officers and gentlemen, seeing it could not be extorted from

from the magistrates. Sir Charles Lucas, the first to oppose danger as to relieve distress, became petitioner for them to the council of war, and obtained readily, that the commissaries should deliver to every family a certain portion of bread corn, proportioned to the number it contained. Three hundred quarters of wheat and rye on this occasion were given out; and the public stock thus diminished, brought great inconvenience upon the general cause, which could be no otherwise avoided, than by consigning to the miseries of famine, the poor, the aged, and the helpless.

As the Lord Goring had hitherto, contrary ^{July} to the expectation of Fairfax, and even of his ^{12.} friends and adherents, been able to keep his forces from any material danger or diminution; inspired by the enthusiasm of the age, or more probably wishing to have it understood among the religious sectarists and infatuated saints that composed the army of Fairfax, that Providence more immediately favoured his designs, he resolved upon a declaration;

claration ; and with the consent of the council of war, caused the same to be dispersed in the country, and in the lines of the enemy. In this production he boasts of the prosperous state of the cause, and of the unanimity that befriended their undertakings ; that heaven seemed pleased with their proceedings, and earth conspired for their deliverance ; that with the resolution which produced them out of nothing, they still moved, and were favoured and encouraged by the same Providence who first raised them. They saluted them in a temper of pure love and christianity, disengaged from any interest whatever, and unmixed with revenge or fear ; declaring that peace was the end aimed at, and endeavoured at the first to be accomplished : finally pointing out as the only remaining expedient to procure so desirable an effect, a junction with them, or any part of their forces before the 21st of July, which was then near at hand.

Although in a strain to which the parliamentarians had been in some degree used, yet
this

this declaration breathed a spirit of firmness and integrity that suited not to make converts of heated enthusiasts who were led by any motives before rational ones. Few were moved to join the Lord Goring in consequence of this public appeal, and the great purpose of stirring up the army of Fairfax was totally unaccomplished.

The work of the siege yet went forward; and the batteries from St. Mary's fort, from north bridge, and from the tower of St. Mary's church, wherein a brass saker* had been planted to flank the trench, gave to the enemy much annoyance. In the latter place, a centinel constantly kept, which discovered their motions night and day; and a gunner, who possessing but one eye, dealt sure mischief and destruction by the certainty of his aim.

To remove this inconvenience, as soon as the line had been drawn near the Lord Lucas's house†, two demi-cannon were planted

O 2

to

* A small brass cannon.

† St. John's Abbey.

to bear upon the tower of the church, against which many shot were fired with little damage. To protect the tower from threatened ruin, the Lord Goring caused a battery to be raised upon the curtain, and the guns had been scarcely fired, ere one of the cannoneers and six men of the assailants fell, and caused the enemy to move from a situation they had sadly experienced to be imminently dangerous.

The Hythe, from whence the Lord Goring had hitherto drawn his chief supplies, was the next object of attack. Its open and indefensible situation, made it untenable, and had an earlier attempt been made against it, success would have been unavoidable; in which case the Lord Goring could not have held out above ten days; or must have been compelled, with all his force to have left the town, and hazarded a general engagement in its defence. The church, and a small fort erected there, were the only places of shelter; and even these were so weak, that to have attempted holding them against the force prepared for the attack, would have been a desperate

perate folly. They were therefore evacuated, however not so quickly but that a few men* were made prisoners who loitered in the church.

Having secured this place, which was become of little importance to the Lord Goring, the next measures Fairfax adopted, were such as enabled him to gain possession of the abbey of St. John, the residence of the Lord Lucas; a place of some strength and importance. This structure, which consisted of a gate-house, and two interior courts surrounded by buildings, was defended by several old walls, and an half-moon, and a strong party of the Lord Goring's forces constantly watched and kept guard there. The line of approach being drawn near to the abbey, the soldiers of Fairfax, under cover of an old wall, brought up two pieces of cannon, and effecting a breach, tumultuously entered, and drove the guards stationed for its defence from the first court-yard into the second, and from thence for greater security into the gate-house, which

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being

* The Diary says 70.

being the chief strength of the place, they maintained.

This gate-house "being a place very considerable, and mighty advantageous*" to the parliamentarians, Fairfax took the resolution of carrying by storm the following day. Eight pieces of cannon were brought against it and commenced the attack. Under cover of the fire from these, six men advanced with granadoes, and twenty with ladders, and a large party of foot, followed. One hundred men defended the gate-house and the horn-work. The furious cannonading that was continued, beat down one side of some buildings adjoining the gate-house, which falling into the horn-work, buried several in the ruins†, and gave great obstruction. The granadoes also thrown into the work, by the assailants, did much execution, and the soldiers selected for
the

* Diary.

† The Diary mentions, that a granado fired the magazine, and blew up the house; but added to the improbability of any great quantity of powder being kept there, Carter is silent as to the fact, and only says, that the hand granadoes buried many in the stones and dust,

the purpose, taking advantage of the confusion, placed their ladders and ascended. Those within betook themselves to their swords, and the butt ends of their muskets; yet overpowered by numbers, and at length much dismayed, they retreated to the gate-house, from whence after fighting hard from one place to another they were driven to escape, some by the windows, others by the wicket, and the rest through the breaches made by the cannon.

This was not effected without loss to Fairfax of "many a stout man, and of his oldest soldiers, who were found lying by the wall and sides of the trench*". Of the guard stationed there by the Lord Goring†, about ten were taken prisoners, and eighteen killed; in which are reckoned, thirteen who were overwhelmed by the fall of one side of the house, and the following day drawn from underneath.

O 4

* Carter.

† The Diary says, The magazine blew up many of the besieged, the rest were taken prisoners and slain; few of them could escape; thirteen at one place were pulled from under the rubbish.

neath. The number of wounded on both sides was considerable.

As plunder is generally the first thing thought of after victory, that custom, which can boast of much antiquity though little justice, was not omitted to be put in practice: but as the abbey had at divers periods, since the commencement of the public disorders, before submitted to the exercise of this ancient custom, the expected harvest turned out barren and unproductive. In the wrath of disappointment, the soldiery, as the living had escaped, proceeded to wreak vengeance on the dead. Breaking open the vault of the family of Lucas in the church of St. Giles, they eagerly sought the hidden treasure, and in a frantic heat of extacy, with sacrilegious hands, violated the last sad retreat of mortality. The bodies of the Lady Lucas and the Lady Killebrew, yet undissolved by time, were dismembered and thrown forth; and as if this conquest over humanity required a trophy to prove its truth, in defiance of decency, honour, and religion, the hair of these ladies

ladies was shamefully borne away in the hats of the soldiery, as ensigns of victory.

Fairfax now being possessed of St. John's Abbey, upon the green which lays before it, he planted two demi-cannon, and two culverines, against the tower of St. Mary's church. From the advantage of this situation, and the briskness of the cannonading, one side of the tower and a great part of the church was soon beat down; and at the same time this obstacle to their proceedings was destroyed, the gunner* who had done them so much injury and a matross were killed, and the saker with which they did their execution broken in pieces,

The procrastination of the siege, and the July likelihood of its longer continuance, induced¹⁵ Fairfax to try the effects of conditions to the soldiers: and as his wish was to get the officers into his power, these conditions were obliged to be made in honourable terms. This conduct so contrary to the usual practice of

* Carter says, there was not one man killed.

of war, was reprobated in strong terms by the Lord Goring, and that an end might be put to future designs of the kind, the Lord Capell and Sir Charles Lucas informed Fairfax, that if any similar attempts were repeated, they should be obliged to hang the messenger as an example.

The provisions that had been collected from every quarter by the Lord Goring, being nearly spent, and all further supply impracticable either from within the walls or without, the council of war, after deliberating upon the measures to be pursued, resolved upon a general sally of the horse to be made in the night, with intention that an escape northward might be effected to hasten the relief expected from Sir Marmaduke Langdale. In the evening, all the horse, (except 200) with the gentlemen volunteers, and a body of foot, were ordered to be in readiness in the castle-yard. When the night was advanced, the party headed by Sir Charles Lucas, Sir Bernard Gascoigne, and Sir George Lisle, proceeded to the river, and
passing

passing it between the north bridge and the mill*, arrived within hearing of the centinels, before any alarm was given. The guides fearful, and perhaps treacherous, in this instant of danger, misled them, and with the pioneers who had been brought to level the fences, fled across the inclosures when the guard began to fire. This desertion rendered the further prosecution of the project impossible, and a retreat was instantly made and effected without loss. Pursuit was made by the parliamentarians, who mistaking the tract, in anger, and no less perhaps from convenience of opportunity, set fire to the suburbs without the bridge; and as the conflagration commenced in six or seven places at once, and went on rapidly, they were soon reduced to ashes.

This incendiary performance being so successful, other attempts fostered by the despair of the parliamentarians, were made in the suburbs between the north bridge and the gate, as well as at other places; but the activity

* Diary.

activity of the soldiers of the Lord Goring, with the assistance of the inhabitants, prevented the wished for success.

July 18. The besieged were unwilling to give up all idea of breaking through the enemy's line, and again attempted it with a small party, the weakness of which only, caused a failure. Equally averse also to all thoughts of submitting to what they esteemed a cruel and merciless foe, they were prepared to meet the utmost extremities of lingering want and famine, or to experience the sudden calamity and danger of assault, surprise, or open battle. The failure of the accustomed scanty provision hitherto daily delivered out by the commissaries, was a matter of serious moment, more on account of the inhabitants who were numerous, uneasy, and seditiously inclined, than because so few resources of supply yet remained. The strict search for corn that was renewed in every house, produced but a small quantity: some starch, and a good quantity of spice and oil, proved the only stores that could be mustered. Of preserved flesh

flesh scarce any remained, and of living animals that could become food, the horses only survived. These the council of war ordered to be mustered* in the castle yard, and one third delivered over to the commissary for slaughter; part for immediate use, and part to be salted and kept in reserve. Of the soldiers, some few† terrified by the scene, and the evils that threatened to ensue, abandoned their associates and deserted to the enemy; the rest cheered by the new supply, readily enured themselves to the unusual food‡, which the spice and oil rendered palatable, and resolved to abide yet greater evils rather than deliver themselves up “upon base and dishonourable terms”§. These unexpected sentiments in common men, who generally seek no farther than self-preservation, and the steadiness with which

* Seven hundred horses were reckoned. Diary.

† Seventeen. Diary.

‡ A horse was roasted whole in Middleburg, near north gate, by the soldiery, as a general feast at the commencement of this new diet. Diary.

§ Carter.

which they entered upon the practice of them, was a new check to the hopes of Fairfax, and the surrender daily expected, vanished to a distant period.

July 22. The parliamentarians advancing from the Hythe towards the town, began to erect two or three redoubts in a field that commanded the line in Berry-field, at the south east angle of the wall. A party was sent forth to dislodge them, which beat them off their works, and followed them into the streets and houses, where maintaining their ground, large parties of horse and foot were ordered down against them from the leager. Upon which a retreat was made in safety, about ten prisoners taken, and no greater loss suffered than one killed, and two or three wounded.

The nightly sallies were again vigorously renewed in hopes opportunities of escape would arise: and two troops of horse at length succeeded in the enterprize. Distantly encountering the horse guard stationed in the road which led to Malden, and exchanging
pistols,

pistols, they suddenly wheeled about as if to retire, and passing another guard to the right without being perfectly discovered, made their way to Tiptree-heath, and with the assistance of good guides, proceeded into Cambridgehire, dispersing gradually in the length of way they journeyed.

The repeated inclination the forces of the Lord Goring shewed to break through the line upon the north side of the town, and in particular the two last attempts that were made, occasioned Fairfax to throw up a small fort against the ford by which they passed the river below the north bridge, as well to secure the passage as to prevent the success a sudden and resolute attack might have been attended with.

To have carried the town by storm, would in all probability have been an easy task for Fairfax to have performed at an earlier period, and now seem only to have been prevented by the situation of some particular circumstances.

cumstances. The committee of parliament and many officers and soldiers were in the hands of the Lord Goring as prisoners, and an exchange had been several times proposed by Fairfax, without effect. The apprehension that during the prosecution of such violent measures, from the despair of the soldiery, from military revenge made ungovernable by the final ruin of the royal cause, or from a more justifiable retribution, sanguinary steps would have been taken with their confined friends, in great likelihood, had hitherto warded off the fatal blow from being made; and the anxiety of Fairfax to get these friends out of the Lord Goring's hands, seems imputable to no other cause than a desire to finish by a general assault, a dangerous and tedious war, which if further procrastinated, might from a variety of circumstances that threatened, give new sinews of strength to the Lord Goring, and occasion infinite toil and hazard to himself, and danger to the parliament. All this seems to have been well understood by the Lord Goring's council of

war,

war, and upon a former, as well as a renewed application* at this juncture, (except in one solitary instance †) they remained inflexible.

As these repeated efforts of Fairfax were unproductive of the desired effect, acquiescing to the necessity of his situation, he began to make preparation for storming the walls, in hopes the rumour of it might work to his advantage.

To shew his earnestness in such intentions, July
and to give a foretaste to the wearied and famished foldiers of the Lord Goring, a general alarm was made in the dead of night, throughout the line, and anxiety pictured the
P horrors

* Fairfax had by some means got Lord Capell's son, in hopes to effect an exchange; but Lord Capell sent particular word to Fairfax, that it was inhuman in him to surprize his son, who was not in arms, and offer him to insult a father's affections.

† Carter says, Sir William Massam was exchanged by Lord Goring for Mr. Ashburnham; this the Diary contradicts, but Carter is very particular, and says, he was over-joyful of his liberty, and his servant was permitted to come to the walls to receive him.

horrors of violent approach, assault, and indiscriminate bloodshed. Arrows were shot into the town with offers to the soldiers to desert; but on the north side only, however, the matter became serious. The guard stationed in the mill below north bridge, was by a party of the enemy commanded by Colonel Rainsborough, that had forded the river, furiously attacked, and compelled to retire for shelter within the walls. This party instantly fell to work, set the mill on fire, and left it might be spared by the flames, to render it unserviceable in future, the sluice, whereby the head of water was formed, was cut down and destroyed.

To suffer this insult tamely, was in fact giving up the cause at once, and inviting that assault which was suspended over their heads. That a spirited repulse might be given, and to shew the soldiery that the most dangerous enterprizes were not put upon them to perform, a party of officers and gentlemen, sallied forth at the Rye gate, and with a determined courage that no opposition could

could quell, beat the enemy from the mill. The sudden confusion that followed, occasioned many to be drowned, who in retreating, mistook the place where the river was fordable. About twelve* were killed and six made prisoners, and the fire which had gained but little progress was quenched by the soldiers, who made use of their hats as temporary buckets †.

This steady and resolute repulse, warded off for this night the assault that waited the junction only of a few favourable circumstances to have been general ‡.

P 2

That

* The Diary says, three were killed in the attack.

† In the attack, an Ensign was shot through the body with a ball of five pounds, which yet hung in the skin. With the assistance of a soldier, he retired to his quarters in the middle of the town, and laying down on his bed, the ball broke through and carried his life with it, giving him time nevertheless to breathe out this expression: "Oh that I had been shot with my colours in my hand, that furling myself in them, I might have so died; my friends might then have believed, I really loved my King, and that I lived, and cheerfully died in his and my country's service."—Carter.

‡ Carter,

July 26. That there might be many places to enter the town at, when the projected assault was given, the cannonading was again resumed, and especially on the west side towards the north angle, where no houses could give any annoyance upon entering. The engineers immediately employed themselves to strengthen these places by forming trenches behind the walls, and every precaution was taken that the enemy should meet with a warm and unexpected reception. Scythes fitted with long handles, frightful to view and terrible in execution, were prepared, and the horse soldiers, now dismounted, instructed in their use. Brown bills, forged for the purpose of defending the line, were given to all the guards; and scalding pitch kept boiling in iron pots and cauldrons every night, and long ladles for casting it over the ramparts, were provided and kept in those places where the weight of the assault was chiefly expected.

The readiness of these preparations, and the danger of encountering them, much abated the ardour of the troops of Fairfax, and
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the daily news which that general received of the subduing the different parties that had sprung up in the kingdom, and from which the Lord Goring had expected succour and relief, jointly operated to make a delay of the intended assault, at this time a matter of no considerable moment; especially as famine was hourly doing the work of war, and bringing the issue near at hand.

Nevertheless the regularity of the work received no interruption. The suburbs towards the Hythe were set on fire, by the parliament forces, and the Lord Goring to dislodge the enemy, caused what they had spared on that quarter to be burnt also. A troop of July
the Lord Capell's fallied out and took some ^{27.}
prisoners at work upon the line near St. Botolph's, where the approaches were made in formal order, and were nearly under the walls. This boldness in the soldiers of Fairfax was fatal to many of them, and notwithstanding ammunition began to be scarce with the Lord Goring's forces, so that a constant fire from the line could not be made, many, by well

directed shot, daily fell. In return, the soldiers of Fairfax lay in wait for the occasional issuing of any of the Lord Goring's forces. Hay, corn, and straw, and even thatch from the buildings, and all the green boughs and leaves that could be procured, had been consumed by the horses, and the soldiers sallied forth in parties to cut grass. Some kept up a fire upon the enemy, while the rest gathered the provender; and in these private skirmishes many fell by craft, and not a few as the marked objects of revenge, and partial hatred.

July 31. Stratagems were also practiced upon other occasions. A party of foot sallied out at night to discover the nature of some new works that were constructing. Twenty of these with spades, and the rest with muskets, passed the enemy's first centinel, saying, they were come to make an end of the work where they had wrought the preceding night. With the second guard they engaged, and after killing several, brought away the officer who commanded.

Disease

Disease as well as famine now began to ^{Aug.} assist in the destruction of the besieged. The ^{2.} bad effects of scanty as well as unwholesome diet occasioned the death of many, and the resolution of some numbers, hitherto firm and stable, began, for want of hope, to waver when this new minister appeared. Desertion soon followed * the loss of hope, and the ranks of the Lord Goring suffered unavoidable reduction.

To those more steady in their resolutions, who remained, and whom neither war, famine, disease, or the prospect of reward could subdue, or tempt to desertion, the ordinary hard and slender diet they had been accustomed to was now become a luxury: the want of which was supplied by cats, dogs†,

P 4

and

* The Diary says, 200 came away in the preceding week.

† The soldiers used to reserve half their loaf, and early in the morning go forth, and if a dog was discovered, drop a piece of bread, and by degrees tempt him within their reach, and knock him down with their muskets.—A small dog sold for about twelve shillings.

and every other animal that was to be procured and that hunger could make palatable.

Aug. 7. The inhabitants who suffered in the general evil, fearful of perishing, requested leave to go forth into the country, but this neither the rules of war, or the humanity of Fairfax would permit.

By the advice of his officers at a full council, Fairfax was now carrying his approaches in order to a storm. All the places of conveniency and advantage round the town they had already seized, and began to insinuate themselves into the houses in the suburbs under the wall. Finding this measure of sudden advantage, they drew down thicker, and under shelter of the houses made the line too hot for any to abide it. The officers of the Lord Goring not relishing their new neighbours, and finding no other remedy, sallied forth with a strong party and beat them out of the streets and houses.

Having done this they proceeded to demolish those buildings that adjoined the wall,
and

and were conveniently situated to annoy them: Some were pulled down and the materials preserved, and others burnt, and the line rendered as little obstructed as possible, and as few places for shelter to the parliament forces as could be.

The poor inhabitants of the town now be-^{Aug.} gan to be clamorous for food, and gathered ^{12.} in crouds about the Lord Goring's quarters demanding a surrender. The men were forcibly driven away, but the women and children defied the soldiers, and could not be removed or appeased. Moved by their cries ^{16.} and importunities the Lord Goring sent to Fairfax, requesting leave to send to the Prince* (Rupert) who with nineteen men of war lay at the mouth of the Thames, and offering to surrender on honourable terms, if not relieved in twenty days. To this message a refusal was given, and a taunting answer returned by Fairfax, that in less than that time he should visit them in person; for that
preparations

* Carter says, it was to send to know particulars concerning Sir Marmaduke Langdale.

preparations were making for a general assault. Some sharp replies ensued, and the Lord Goring concluded by assuring him that for the prevention of bloodshed, they were willing to surrender upon honourable terms, but as for storming them as they had threatened, they might come on when they thought fit, for all things were ready for his reception.

Aug. Fairfax to all this returned as a final answer,
^{20.} the conditions he would allow. These were that on peaceable surrender, all soldiers and officers under the degree of captain in commission should be assured of life, exemption from plunder, and leave to go to their homes; all the lords, captains, and superior officers and volunteers to surrender at discretion*.

21. These offers were rejected by the Lord Goring, and upon a renewal of the clamours of the people for bread, one of the gates was set open, that they might go forth and try the clemency of Fairfax. Many with the magistrates

* "Mercy." Diary.

gistrates went out and petitioned that the inhabitants might have leave to disperse themselves in the country amongst their friends, and get relieved from a state of famine. This was not allowed by the politic Fairfax, who urged "that it did not stand with his trust to to permit it*;" and gave an order to the army round the leager to fire at all that should be turned out, or 'endeavoured to escape. Those who had approached the line in expectation of a favourable answer, were ordered to retire, and enter those gates they hoped to bid adieu to, and associate with their miseries anew.

The magistrates with the inhabitants, disappointed in their application to Fairfax, renewed their importunities to the Lord Goring. who with the officers and soldiers had resolved to have died with their swords in their hands, rather than yield to the offers that had been proposed: Nevertheless wearied with their continual cries, and commiserating their helpless condition, the Lord Goring
consented

* Diary.

consented to enter upon a treaty; which in the event proved fruitless, as no alteration of terms would be allowed.

The rigid adherence of Fairfax to these terms was in some degree strengthened by a victory over 21,000 Scots that had entered Lancashire, and were making a progress southward. Relieved from any anxiety that he might be obliged to raise the siege to oppose the enemy in another quarter, he persisted yet more in abiding by the terms that had been offered, and furthermore had leisure to await the approaching effect of his investment without proceeding to a storm.

For several days past while all this had been transacting, the emissaries of the enemy were constantly at work in the town to excite sedition and mutiny among the soldiers. Private papers were sent by women to incense them against the officers, who were therein branded with the name of rebels, and men acting against the peace of the kingdom. Strange and improbable accounts of victories
over

over men that never were in arms, with long lifts of prisoners never taken. Arrows, with papers fastened to them were discharged into the town, with offers of fair quarter to such as would desert, and liberty to go home without injury, others with threats of granting no quarter; and no means were left untried to disunite the soldiers from their officers, and make them abandon their resolutions. All this was however of little avail, but rather served to stimulate the soldiers, who saw through the drift of the design, and expressed anew their intentions, "to live with liberty, or die with honour.*" Moved by an honest indignation, they retorted the insult, and, to shew the sincerity of their contempt, in a coarse way returned their arrows smeared with ordure.

Rather than permit matters to take their threatened course, one of the committee of ^{Aug.} parliament that was held a prisoner by the Lord Goring, humanely took upon himself to intercede with the unyielding Fairfax for better

* Carter.

better terms: Deaf to all solicitations even from his friends, he returned for answer, that he had sent them a former account of what conditions he would give, and those he would stand to, and no other must be looked for or expected.

The forces of the Lord Goring, while the means of supply remained, or relief and assistance from the royalists in other parts of the kingdom could be reasonably expected, buoyed themselves up with the idea, that as their intentions were founded in integrity and honour, and the general welfare of the public was their sole aim, success would ultimately place a chaplet of victory upon their endeavours. But now that all further means of subsistence were cut off, their friends from whom aid was expected, discomfited and slain; and little ammunition left in the magazine, hope began to give way to despair, and the regular proceedings of men resolved upon victory, made room for the desperate measures that are usually pursued, when the last and best efforts have failed.

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In consequence of this situation, and of ^{Aug.} the inflexibility of the politic Fairfax, the ^{23.} Lord Goring, the Lord Capell, and Sir Charles Lucas, with the rest of the officers and gentlemen resolved to break through the enemy's line, and for that purpose entered into a solemn engagement, with a firmness proportioned to their hopeless fortune; protesting against all conditions by which their liberties might be infringed, and their honours blemished, and solemnly engaging not to desert one another, nor the soldiery, 'till they should have forced a passage through all that should oppose them, or perish in the act. The soldiers adopting the same spirit as their leaders, eagerly embraced the honourable resolution, of 'manfully releasing themselves from the evils they sustained, or of falling in the attempt.

These steps being taken, all means possible were used to gather the remaining provisions in the town into the commissaries store-house. Private houses were ransacked, and those families

milies that had most, allowed but a peck of corn for future subsistence; yet the supply gained for the soldiery was but very small.

Aug. 24. The desperate state of the Lord Goring's affairs, and of the town in general, was well known to Fairfax, who laid in quiet expectation of that hour when famine should have compleated its work, and wrought a victory for him without danger. Nevertheless, as intimidation might hasten that period, by beating down and subduing the remains of that spirit which actuated his enemies, he neglected not to practice those measures upon an occasion which now offered.

This was performed by sending a paper kite into the town, laden with incendiary papers, and a book relating a great victory over the Scots, from whom the besieged had expected powerful assistance. Soon after, shouts of triumph were heard from the leager, and a general volley of small and great shot encircled the town. In the extremity of despair,

pair, it was hoped the long threatened assault would ensue, and that anxious period arrive which should bring upon its wings deserved victory, or unmerited ruin.

Disappointed in this, the besieged industriously courted the fatal danger, and at the council of war resolved to send Fairfax word, "That since he denied to treat upon any conditions that were honourable, notwithstanding their actions and demeanours in the service had been nothing but what became their honour and fidelity, if he were pleased to make an attempt of attacking them, he should not need to spring any mine, (as he boasted he had ready) but that any gate about the town he should make choice of, should be set open, and his entrance disputed afterwards."

This challenge dictated by despair and impatient valour disdaining the curb, was unaccepted by the cool and phlegmatic Fairfax; who, trusting to the arrangements he had made, waited the issue with a patience not to be disturbed.

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Insidious

Infiduous approach, and open assault nevertheless continued at this late period to be practised. The soldiers of Fairfax had worked their way under the shelter of an old wall*, so near the line at the south-east angle of the walls, that frequent conversations and insult took place between them and the besieged, which terminated commonly in stoning each other, or in more sure destruction by the musket. Four great pieces of battering cannon were planted in a new situation against the same angle of the walls, and about 140 great shot fired against the two old ruined towers, the upper parts of which were beaten off, and three men killed.

But now the time was arrived for the Lord Goring to collect all his force into one body, and to consolidate all his intentions into one focus, to the execution of the desperate project he had formed. All further supply of provisions was at an end. Bread had been made of wheat, rye, barley, oats, pease, beans, and

* The wall of the garden belonging to the priory of St. Botolph, yet standing on the south of More-lane.

and malt, and none now remained. Above 800 horses had been slaughtered; and of dogs, cats, and other animals, of which extreme necessity had compelled the besieged to taste, very few were left alive. All the ammunition that could be mustered, would serve barely to maintain a two hours fight, and was scarce sufficient for the purpose of executing what was left unfinished of their designs. Their friends in every quarter of the kingdom had been either subdued by the victorious parliament, or rendered unable to afford them any assistance. Hopeless, and tottering on the brink of despair, famine and misery staring them in the face, and the wrath and inhuman inflexibility of a malignant enemy binding them with bands of iron to taste the bitter fruit of disappointment, extreme necessity, and violent desperation; instant measures were taken to hurry on a catastrophe to those evils which were become no longer supportable.

The council of war of the Lord Goring proceeded immediately to order the final re-

solution that had been before adopted to be executed; which as the soldiery yet remained uncorrupted and untainted by the incendiary practices that had been used to make them swerve from their duty, was the only gleam of hope that brightened the dreary and comfortless prospect. The whole force of the Lord Goring was ordered to be in arms; and, furnished with the ammunition that remained and as many short scaling ladders as could be procured, to hold itself in readiness to issue in the deadeft time of night from two of the gates, and storming the lines of the enemy, force a way through all opposition, or perish. Such of the officers as yet had horses for their service, left the foldiers should think they meant to escape and leave them engaged, were (except the general and major-general) to pistol them in fight of the army.

These resolutions being taken and secrecy enjoined, every one concerned began the necessary preparations with alacrity. The officers anxious to promote a general confidence

dence in the foldiers, treated them, as brethren in danger and misfortune, with the same refreshments as they partook among themselves*, and by condescension and example, excited them to join heartily in the work. The cannonading which Fairfax had resumed in some places, was paid little attention to, but served as an excuse for that internal commotion, which otherwise might have occasioned suspicion. Under this cover, all things were got in readiness before night came on; and the ammunition and scaling ladders secured in a particular place of convenience, gave leisure for those reflexions which would naturally arise between the forming and executing of such a final and important design.

The night was far advanced, and the hour of assault approached; when sedition, as a fiend that rejoices in cutting asunder the last sad hopes of despairing men, at one blow destroyed the fair prospect of deliverance that

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began

* Burnt claret and raisins.

began to dawn, and overwhelmed the Lord Goring and his officers, with the miseries of that fate they had been so long striving against.

Whether Fairfax had discovered the resolute intentions of the besieged, and by his seditious agents had infused doubt and suspicion in the breasts of the inferior soldiery, to render abortive the execution of a plan, which contained in it much for him to fear and apprehend, is unknown, but strongly suggested. It is not easy to be conceived that he should be unacquainted with the design, and it is equally inconceivable that amongst such a number as were to be concerned, or from the inhabitants, not one should be found to betray the time of its execution; or that the tendency of the necessary preparations should not be observed by the spies and agents employed. However it was, a little before the projected hour arrived, objections began to be started, and several arguments were alledged by some of
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the officers, who pretended, the following night would better suit the enterprize, as the preparations would then be more complete.

While this parley was holding, the work of sedition was eagerly pursued among the soldiery. Those incendiaries who had it in charge, craftily insinuated to the private men, that the officers and gentlemen were resolved very suddenly, to break away through the leager and escape; leaving them engaged, or at the mercy of a disappointed and enraged enemy. The soldiers hitherto unsuspicious, in a fatal moment gave way to these insinuations, without consulting whether such actions tallied with the honour and general conduct of their officers, or any exclusive benefit would result to them if such a scheme had been practised. Without resistance they suffered themselves to be hurried into a frenzy of desperate mutiny round the line, and their heated imagination pictured in every officer, a demon that was to betray them. Some proceeded yet further, and threatened to cast their officers over the line to the enemy, or

to kill them if they offered to stir out, and the greater part throwing off military obedience left their appointed stations, and assembled in crouds to consult their own safety. These, selected a deputation of thirty to wait upon the council of war to know their intentions, and to declare "That if they would not make conditions for them, and such as they should like of, they would article for themselves over the line, and leave their officers to shift for themselves, as they understood their officers would have done by them."

This unexpected declaration being delivered to the council, threw them into great disorder and confusion; as it contained a charge against their honour, as well as being contrary to their safety and interest; and convinced them that the measure they had been about to adopt, was not, from the change that sedition and mistrust had occasioned in the minds of the soldiery, to be pursued with any prospect of safety or success. However, to abate such a dangerous commotion, and convince

vince the soldiers of the falsehood of what had been insinuated to them, the Lord Goring assured them, " That they were so far from deserting them, or seeking any good that should not extend in as great a measure to the meanest soldier as to themselves, that they were thoroughly resolved to become a prey and submit to the mercy of their enemies, nay throw themselves into the greatest inconveniencies and hardships which they could be oppressed with, sooner than not free the inferior soldiery from suffering; and that it was their sincere desires, to deliver themselves up prisoners to the enemy, if thereby they could purchase *them* an honourable liberty."

The thirty soldiers satisfied with this declaration, answered their general, that they desired not any liberty which should be purchased at so dear a rate; and as men undeceived, renewed their engagement of abiding by such resolutions as the council should propose and think expedient for their mutual good.

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In the mean while Sir Charles Lucas, Sir William Compton, Sir George Lisle, and many other of the officers, diligently stirred themselves to appease the tumult round the line, and so far succeeded as to reduce the turbulent and unruly spirit the soldiers had shewn, to some degree of mildness and obedience.

And now that calmness began to succeed the storm, reflection took place of anger, and the soldiers, as if ashamed of their conduct, too late sought into the origin of the jealousy that had arisen. But a breach had been made in that mutual confidence, upon which every hope of success in the intended enterprize was built; and the worst that adverse fortune could bestow, only remained, as the unavoidable lot of those who had hitherto given life and spirit to the design.

Accordingly, the council of war, to make good the declaration of the Lord Goring, pursued, without regard to themselves, such measures as only tended to ensure safety to the
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the foldiers ; and took the final refolution of fending forth a gentleman to treat with Fairfax for conditions.

Upon this embaffy Colonel Samuel Tuke, and J. Barnardifton, one of the committee of parliament, were difpatched to confer upon thofe terms that had before been offered by Fairfax. But now that extreme neceffity had fubdued his enemies, and put them unconditionally into his fatal grasp, it accorded not with the policy, or difpofition of Fairfax to grant, what a more generous enemy would have beftowed :—honourable conditions.—Instigated by his council of war, he had even receded from thofe before propofed, and would harken to no call either of humanity or compaffion ; or listen to any terms, until the committee of parliament was firft delivered from its captivity.

The Lord Goring, and the reft of the of-
 ficers who compofed his council, upon learn-
 ing the refult of the conference, feeing no
 resource or alternative, were compelled in
 their hopelefs ftate to grant this preliminary ;
 a circum-
 Aug.
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a circumstance Fairfax had at various times before shewn an anxiety to gain.

The committee of parliament was therefore released from confinement, and permitted to depart. And now these hostages being delivered, nothing remained with the Lord Goring to secure him and his friends from the effects of that resentment Fairfax had long brooded over, who with patience had waited the happy period when he might give way to it, without fear of a retaliation.

After the committee was dismissed, Colonel Tuke with five other officers*, went forth commissioned by the Lord Goring, the Lord Capell, and Sir Charles Lucas, to discourse with Fairfax, and agree upon the terms of surrender, which being known to be unavoidable, gave occasion for the soldiers of Fairfax to ascend the line, and intermix with those of the Lord Goring; and even proceed,

* The commissioners on the part of the Lord Goring were Colonel Tuke, Sir William Compton, Sir Abraham Shipman, Edward Hammond, and William Ayloffe.

ceed, before authorised, to commit those acts of outrage so liable to be performed by victorious men.

After much explanation on the part of the commissioners * appointed by Fairfax, in which the whole day was consumed, the only conditions of surrender that address, persuasion, or humanity could gain from Fairfax were to the following purport:—

That all private soldiers and officers under captains should render themselves into the custody of such as should be appointed to take charge of them, and that they should have fair quarter †.

That the lords, and all captains and superior officers and gentlemen, should submit themselves

* These were Sir Thomas Honeywood, Henry Ireton, Thomas Rainborow, Edward Whalley, William Bloys, Bramstone Gurdon, John Sparrow, Isaac Ewer, Thomas Cook, and George Barnardiston.

† The explanation given of this term, was, that the prisoners should be assured of life, be free from injury, and be provided with food and clothing.

themselves to the mercy of the Lord General, into the hands of such as he should appoint to take charge of them *.

As it was of considerable import that the commissioners of the Lord Goring should be fully informed, what was meant by the term of submitting to mercy, they had questioned the commissioners of Fairfax upon that head, and had been answered, that it implied a surrender without certain assurances of quarter, so as that the Lord General might be free to put some immediately to the sword, *if he saw cause.*

In all these proceedings it is easy to discern, that the life of some individual, either from private hatred or party rancour was pointed at, and that the “cause was already

* There were other particulars respecting the horses, arms, and military stores: very few of the first remained, of the last only one barrel and an half of powder, and some quantity of large shot at the Lord Goring's quarters, which the soldiers had gathered up as they were fired, and received for each as a perquisite six-pence a piece,

ready seen *", that would induce the Lord General to exercise that rigorous vengeance he had reserved.

The commissioners of the Lord Goring having assented to the proposed terms, returned to their friends and gave relief to the anxiety that had reigned in their absence, by informing them of the harsh and dishonourable treaty, and of that fatal reserve which they well perceived, would devote some of them to destruction.

On the morrow, the Lord Goring, and ^{Aug. 28.} those under his command, surrendered themselves prisoners, being in number, including the superior officers and captains, 3530, after an unexpected defence of eleven weeks, unprovided with the necessaries of life, military stores, or regular and well-constructed works of defence, and with few resources ; against a powerful and victorious foe, led on to combat by

* In the action at Marston Moor, Fairfax had been roughly handled by Sir Charles Lucas, after which he had been often heard to threaten him.

by enthusiasm, and encouraged by repeated success; whose wants found ample provision, and whose resources were numerous and inexhaustible.

In the afternoon, when the surrender had been completed according to the conditions, Fairfax entered the walls, and in triumph rode round to inspect the line. The weakness that upon the slightest view was apparent, excited his surprise, and it was not without some degree of astonishment that he considered the time the place had been held against the strong force unremittingly employed to invest and subdue it.

A council of war was soon after held at the Moot-hall, and Col. Ewer dispatched with a message to the Lord Goring and the officers, who were yet unassured as to the intentions of Fairfax. Saluting the Lords, and addressing himself in a slight and contemptuous manner to Sir Charles Lucas, he informed him, that the General desired to speak with him at the council of war, with Sir George Lisle, and Sir
Bernard

Bernard Gascoyne *. It was no difficult matter to divine the meaning of this message, and that Fairfax with his council were proceeding to some resolution respecting "military justice," in which these gentlemen would be involved. Taking an affectionate and solemn farewell of their honourable associates, with a calm and intrepid firmness of mind, they undauntedly resigned themselves to their suggested ill-fate, and departed to the council of war, to meet its confirmation.

Here being delivered to a strong guard, they were locked up in an apartment of the hall. Mean while the council, not all inclined to pursue dishonourable, inhuman, and sanguinary measures, with those whom the fortune of war had thrown into their power, deliberated ere the final sentence was pronounced, that was to fix a mark of infamy upon their actions, and deliver to a severe fate those for whom honour pleaded, and would have spared: Ireton, fierce and implacable

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* Colonel Farre was also enquired after, but he had escaped.

in revenge *, kept alive by his arts that cool resentment of Fairfax, which otherwise might, when nothing remained to be feared, have expired, or been superseded by that humanity he was not totally divested of. It is conceived he urged the former indignity Fairfax had suffered at the hands of Sir Charles Lucas †, the toil, slaughter, and bloodshed of his soldiers, and the affronts and scornful messages repeatedly received from him, (to omit the breach of parole he had been guilty of ‡,) as crimes that admitted of no excuse, but called for immediate vengeance. Against Sir George Lisle, little could be said, except by those who more feared than esteemed his spirit and valour. That he was mischievous, of debauched conversation,

* Vide Loyal Sacrifice, p. 52.

† At the battle of Marston-Moor.

‡ Loyal Sacrifice, p. 53, 54. It is not well authenticated that Sir Charles Lucas was ever the prisoner of Fairfax, and consequently that he could not break a parole never given. Fairfax himself in his memorial, wherein he explains the reasons for his conduct, makes no mention of it, which he would not failed to have done, if true.

verfation, and had confumed the fuburbs wantonly *, were the reafons that fhould induce the council to be fevere ; although fear of what an unconquerable mind might perform, and revenge for paff deeds of fierce and ftrenuous oppofition, if unspoken of, were nevertheless the true motives that urged the council to exercife their affumed power.

Where men act in military fubordination, the farce of deliberate confultation is truly ridiculous. Under the direktion of one whose commands are abfolute, the freedom of the mind is fhackled, and the general opinion ferves but to illuftrate what the military defpot has refolved. This was experienced at the prefent juncture, for of the numerous body that compofed this council, none arofe to plead the caufe of humanity, or to throw themfelves like men acrofs the fanguinary intentions of Fairfax, but Whalley. Altho' at private variance with Sir George Lifle, and entertaining little friendfhip for the other knights, yet poffeffing the principles of ho-

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nour,

* Loyal Sacrifice, p. 62.

nour, Whalley, it is said, generously interfered, and attempted to dissuade Fairfax from the rash and inconsiderate act he was about to perform*.

But the measures had been previously concerted, and the resolutions long before formed, and it only remained, under sanction of this troop, and its sage and deliberate councils to put them in execution. The knights were therefore brought forth, and without accusation, defence, or other preliminary form, in few words given to understand; "That after so long and obstinate a defence until they found it necessary to deliver themselves up to mercy, it was necessary, for the example of others, and that the peace of the kingdom might be no more disturbed in that manner, that some military justice should be executed; and therefore the council had determined, that they three should be presently shot to death †."

Hereupon

* Loyal Sacrifice, p. 77.

† Clarendon, book xi. p. 305. The reason formally stated in this sentence, appears extremely improbable and far-fetched, and the inference irregular.

Hereupon without ceremony, like convicts, whose lives had been forfeited to the law, they were hurried to the castle*, and secured in the ordinary hold of the condemned. Sir Bernard Gascoyne, who was a Florentine, desirous of informing his prince, of the fate he was about to undergo, requested the officer who guarded him to procure him a pen and ink. This favour being too great to grant without leave, was asked by the officer of the General and Council, who, when they understood he was not an Englishman, ordered him back to the other prisoners, and reversed the sentence they had pronounced upon him.

Whilst all this was transacting, the Lords, officers, and gentlemen, were kept in a state of doubt, dismay, and anxiety; their lives hanging by the slender thread of military mercy and compassion, and the fate of their separated friends unknown, though sadly prognosticated. A messenger from Sir Charles Lucas appeared, all was hope; but

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when

* Then the county gaol.

when it was known that his errand was to request the attendance of the Lord Capell's chaplain, sorrow and unfeigned dejection possessed the minds of every one. The Lords, anxious for the safety of these knights, intreated Captain Cannon, and prevailed upon him to hasten to the council, and desire of them, that they would not make those gentlemen any greater sufferers than they intended all to be; who being all equally concerned in the transaction, it was but just, and was their particular desire, that all should share alike in suffering*.

The sentence the council had given, was however too deep laid to be rooted up, by just reasoning or intercession. Ireton was therefore dispatched to Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle to inform them the hour of their death approached. Coming to the castle he made known the purport of his visit, which was steadily and without emotion heard by the knights. They demanded of him fearlessly, by what law they were to die?
or

or whether by an ordinance of parliament, by the council of war, or by command of the general? To which Ireton replied, that it was by vote of the council of war, according to an order of parliament; by which order, all that were found in arms, were to be proceeded against as traitors*.

This answer, founded upon principles repugnant to every idea of English liberty, drew forth from Sir Charles Lucas, a smile of contempt, worthy his intrepid character, and the character of that nation whose greatest boast is freedom. Yet he deigned to say, in reply, "Alas, how ye deceive yourselves! If the just defence of the ancient laws, liberties, and privileges of a kingdom, and the advancement of the style, and prerogative of the sovereign, is treason, then we are traitors and rebels †. I am not to be deceived, although conquered and at your mercy."

Request was made that the short period of their lives might extend to the following

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day:

* Whitelock's Mem.

† Loyal Sacrifice, p. 75.

day; that they might have leisure for the performance of their religious duties, and arrange their temporal affairs. This reasonable request was harshly denied, and Sir Charles Lucas sharply replied to Ireton, that he would not have him think the request was made out of any desire he had to live, or escape the death designed him, for that he scorned to ask life at his hand, and should be soon ready for execution.

Ireton, who had brought the general's chaplains with him, now offered them to the knights, "to advise, comfort, and prepare them for their end*;" and that in the last stage of their life, they might taste the bitter insult of spiritual reproof, which the refined tyranny of the age liberally bestowed upon those who fell into the hands of the parliament, or the infatuated instruments it employed. These offers were rejected by Sir Charles Lucas, who desired that the Lord Capell's chaplain might have liberty to approach them. This was allowed, and the last

* Loyal Sacrifice, p. 76.

last sad remains of their appointed time, were employed in religious exercises to arm them against the fear of approaching death.

And now the hour drew nigh, that called for a steady exercise of those principles of courage, indignant honour, and religion, which had led them thus far in their course without faltering. It was seven o'clock when they were led forth from the castle, and conducted to a green spot of ground, a few paces from the wall on the north side of it. Here the three colonels, Ireton, Whalley, and Rainsborough, with three files of musketeers had already arrived, and upon perceiving the knights advance, put themselves in order to perform their fatal work. Sir Charles Lucas coming forward took the appointed stand, at the same time saying, "I have often faced death in the field, and you shall now see I dare die." Calmly kneeling down, he continued a few minutes in that humble posture of religious intercession, and rising with a cheerful countenance, hastily opened his doublet

doublet and pulled his hat on firmly *. Then placing his arms at his sides, as in defiance, with a resolute indignation called aloud, " See, I am ready for you ; now, rebels, do your worst."—An instant discharge of the musketry ensued, and four mortal wounds put an immediate end to his existence †.

Sir George Lisle who, during this transaction, had been conveyed to a small distance from the scene, was now led to the fatal spot, where his own blood was to be mingled with that of his friend who lay extended, and without life. Here kneeling down, he kissed the body, and with many tears pronounced his funeral eulogy, exclaiming, " In how short a moment hath a brave spirit expired ! This priority was due to thee, but I shall not be long behind thee ; my death which is now at
hand

* Loyal Sacrifice.

† An ancient servant of Sir Charles Lucas who was a sad spectator of this event, was surprized, through affection with such passion for his loss, as earnestly to beseech death at the hands of the soldiers. Loyal Sacrifice, p. 78.

hand shall restore me to thee*.” Standing up, he took five pieces of gold out of his pocket, and after giving one to the soldiers, delivered the others to a person who had formerly been his servant, with injunctions to give them to some friends as a token of remembrance. Then addressing himself to the bye-standers, he passionately exclaimed, “Oh, how many do I see here about me, whose lives I have saved in hot blood; and now must mine be taken away in cold blood most barbarously! But what dare not those rebels and traitors do, that have imprisoned, and would willingly cut the throat of their king? For whose deliverance from his enemies, and peace to this distracted nation, these my last prayers shall be presented†.” Then observing the distance at which the soldiers were placed, and thinking it too great, he desired them to come nearer, upon which one amongst them said, I’ll warrant ye, Sir, we’ll hit you. Sir George smilingly replied, “I have been nearer you, friends, when you have

* Loyal Sacrifice, p. 80.

† Loyal Sacrifice, p. 89.

have missed me ‡.” Kneeling down a few minutes, he remained in earnest devotion ; and arising chearfully, resolutely presented himself with heroic demeanour to his fate. On pronouncing the defiance, “ Now then, rebels and traitors, do your worst to me,” — fire was immediately given, and the shot which passed through his body, instantaneously completed the work of death §.

This act of “ military justice” has caused the most severe reflections to be made upon the characters of those concerned in it, and especially upon Fairfax who ought to have ruled the circumstances of private revenge and hatred with a high hand. The hidden meaning that was wrapt up in the term of “ submitting to the mercy of the Lord General,” was developed by an explanation, that

‡ Clarendon, book xi.

§ A gentleman who was a spectator of these events, protested, “ That he had in his time seen many die, but never any with more christian or soldier-like resolution ;” adding this sentence, “ That it was a great pity a valiant man should fall into the hands of such an enemy, as preferred revenge before an act of mercy.” Loy. Sac. p. 79.

that it implied, a surrender without certain assurances of quarter, so as that the Lord General might be free to put some immediately to the sword, (if he saw cause). This strange explanation, contrary to the purport of what it was meant to elucidate, excluded mercy to those who should happen to fall within the pale of the Lord General's indignation, and of course they surrendered not to mercy, but to a certain fate which in all probability might have been assigned them long before. However, as this explanation was made at the time, it may be conceived, that no blame should be laid upon Fairfax in the execution of a sentence the full extent of which must have been known: yet as the express words are, that some might be put to the sword, (if the General saw cause) it might naturally be expected that such cause would have been found, examined, and carefully set forth by Fairfax, that no impeachment of his honour or humanity might be made. Upon mature deliberation, when Fairfax gave information of what had been done, to the parliament, this cause is seen. He observes,

serves, " That for some satisfaction of military justice, and in part of avenge for the innocent blood they have caused to be spilt, and the trouble, damage, and mischief they had brought upon the towne, this country, and the kingdome, he had caused two of them to be shot to death." It may easily be discerned, that the Lord Goring, the Lord Capell, and the other officers and gentlemen, as they had been equally concerned in the affair, were equally involved in the cause, and that if it was seen to bear upon the life of one, it bore upon the lives of all. Neither Sir Charles Lucas or Sir George Lisle were notorious for the shedding of innocent blood, or for bringing trouble, damage, and mischief upon the town *, the country, and the kingdom, more than the other individuals that were engaged, nor any, more than the necessity and furtherance of their cause made unavoidable. What was implied in the obscure phrase of " military justice," is not easy to be discovered, or what satisfaction that species

* Concerning the moderation of Sir Charles Lucas during the siege, see Whitelock, p. 318.

cies of justice requires. It can therefore only be deemed an obscure and mysterious cloak under which Fairfax chose to shroud his actions from public view, that not being possessed of defined motives, no defined praise or censure could be formed. Other causes that the general saw, or was seen for him, have been set forth. That Sir Charles Lucas was the head of the Essex party, and the cause of drawing them within Colchester;—that he was harsh and rigid to the town's people, deaf to their complaints, and insensible to their wants;—and that he put two men to death after quarter given *. That Sir George Lisle was inclined to mischief,—of unholy conversation,—and had burned a great part of the suburbs of the town. The extreme folly of some of these charges, and the utter falsehood of others, (as no proof ever was attempted) bars all observation to be made on them; except this, that had they been of greater use, weight, or authority than those Fairfax set forth to the parliament, he would undoubtedly have used them in his apology.

As

* Loyal Sacrifice, p. 55.

As he did not, it may fairly be concluded, that those reasons of the severity and injustice he had been guilty of, were the best that his wife and sagacious council could make or discover; and that as these were insufficient to account for what had been done, it of course follows that other motives of a more malignant and unworthy nature, wherein private rancour and individual hatred were considerable features, actuated him to the perpetration of a deed that has justly stained his memory with indelible infamy.

There are yet other rules whereby the worthiness of these transactions may be weighed. If it is admitted that justice and law suffered no infringement in the deaths of these knights, and that from the circumstances of the surrender, and the reasons Fairfax set forth to the parliament as his apology to them, he was warranted in pursuing this rigid and sanguinary course; yet to say that none of the nobler feelings of the mind, and in particular those which constitute that high species of honour that is the best trait in the military character;

character; as well as others that are derived from a just sense of the religious principles in which that age so much boasted; ought not to have been consulted, would be setting forth a most absurd and ridiculous doctrine. If therefore the conduct of Fairfax is measured by the standard of generous commiseration, it must be pronounced, ungenerous and without mercy; if by that of humanity, inhuman; if by those of honour, dishonourable and base; if by those of religion, diabolical.

The bodies of these two knights thus sacrificed at the dark shrine of malicious revenge, now no longer the object of hatred or fear, were permitted to be carried forth by their friends, and afterwards conveyed privately to the vault* where the ancestry of the Lucas family lay interred. Yet not without the insult and scoff of the soldiery, and of those of a vulgar and debased mind, who carry their resentment even beyond the grave †.

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The

* In the church of St. Giles.

† Many disorders of a similar kind to those mentioned in

The Lords and Gentlemen had from the first been thrust into one room, and put under a guard, rude, uncivil, and insolent. If one chanced to step forth from his situation, he was instantly seized, and his garments torn off, which were supplied by the most ragged and dishonourable that could be procured. The foldiers of the Lord Goring, although enjoying the privilege of fair quarter, suffered equal insult and abuse. They were shut up in the churches, and other convenient places, and pillaged, abused, and sometimes wounded by the guard that was to have protected them.

Some hours had passed since the fatal sentence of the council of war had been executed, and the Lord Goring, with the other prisoners, were yet, except by rumour, unacquainted with the certain fate of his honourable friends: when Ireton, Whalley, and Ewer, commissioned by the council, appeared before them.

in page 138, are said to have been committed at the interment, and it is not impossible but that they were repeated.—Loyal Sacrifice, p. 87, 88.

them. After a slight salutation, these gentlemen informed the prisoners, " That they were sent to them from the General to tell them, that now (for they supposed it was not unknown what had been done) he did by them give an assurance of what before they held doubtful, fair quarter as prisoners of war." The unwelcome confirmation of their fears, contained in this message, appalled them, but the Lord Capell, who was not to be restrained by any circumstance of danger, roused by indignation, boldly gave for answer, " That the General should have received their thanks, if he had saved the lives of those two worthy knights, which they had valued more than their own: that as they all were equally concerned, and acted alike in the engagement and management of the whole affair, they all should have shared one fate; and that therefore the General would do well to finish his work, by executing the same rigour upon the rest." This contempt stirred up anew the rancour of Ireton, and several sharp and bitter expressions passed be-

tween him and the Lord Capell *, from whom, as well as the rest, Ireton probably had expected many humble thanks for that lenity shown by the General, instead of being assaulted by the language of a firm, unsubdued, and indignant mind.

Aug. 29. The Lord Goring and the Lord Capell the following day were, under a proper escort, conducted prisoners to Windsor-Castle, and the most considerable of the officers for family and rank, sent to prisons † as far distant from their friends and connexions as possible, that the wants and the horrors of confinement might not be alleviated by relief, or commiseration. Of the remainder, and the most favoured, a certain number was distributed to every regiment of the parliament army, to

* It is conjectured, that what passed between Ireton and the Lord Capell at this interview, occasioned the death of the latter soon after.—Clarendon, book xi.

† To Lynn, Oxford, Warwick, Arundel-Castle, Gloucester, Hereford, Cardiff, Pendennis, St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, and to other places.

to be ransomed, or otherwise disposed of, as circumstances might dictate.

Business being thus far concluded, Fairfax informed the Peers, in a letter to the Earl of Manchester, their speaker, what had been done; and lest they should take offence* at the severity he had used, he hoped "in the military execution of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, their Lordships would not find cause to think their honour or justice prejudiced, and that the Lord Goring, Lord Capell, and the rest of the persons rendered to mercy, and then assured of quarter, he did deliver to the parliaments judgment for further public justice and mercy, to be used as they should see cause †."

S 3

When

* It seems strange that Fairfax should think offence could be given by what he did in execution of his commission. In his memorial he says, "And in this (the putting to death of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle) I did nothing but according to my commission, and the trust reposed in me." His commission was not made public, and therefore from the letter he wrote to the Earl of Manchester, it seems as if he had exceeded the bounds of it.

† After having assured the prisoners of quarter, it appears

Sept. When this was done, he turned his thoughts
 I. to the dismantling the walls and fortifications,
 that weak and ill-conditioned as they originally
 were, and now shattered and defenceless, no use
 might afterwards be made of them. The magistrates
 were ordered to furnish 500 spades, shovels,
 pick-axes, and hatchets, for this work; the
 parapet round the line, and those breaches
 effected by the cannon, and the most weak
 places, were, by the

pears singular that they should be delivered to the
 justice and mercy of the parliament, where they
 were again to run the gauntlet. When this part
 of Fairfax's letter was read in the house, a
 member no less justly than resolutely said,
 " Mr. Speaker, I for my part know (whatsoever
 is pretended otherwise in this letter) that, neither
 the town nor country desired any severity
 towards those gentlemen, nor do they receive
 any content or satisfaction in it; and therefore
 I suppose this pretence of justice was wholly
 an act of revenge: and I fear out of a more
 private consideration than public." This
 speech was received with frowns and foul
 looks, and to prevent further investigation
 of the matter, a motion followed, " that those
 lords and gentlemen might be referred back
 again to the General, to be tried and executed
 by a council of war." This motion in spite
 of honour or reason would have been carried,
 had not some " better settled in their wits"
 desired the General's letter
 to

the hard labour of a large body of men, demolished and so widened, as to make a repair impossible, unless at a heavy expence.

That if an opportunity might occur, to render this worth attempting, the subsequent conduct of Fairfax took away from the inhabitants the means of performing it. Under pretence of excusing the town from plunder, he imposed an exorbitant fine of 14,000 £.

S 4

upon

to be read again, which being done, it was urged, that seeing " he had given them quarter for life, it could not be for the honour of the army to take it away, or of the house to require it." Upon which it was concluded that they should be proceeded against by way of impeachment, not by a council of war.—*Loyal Sacrifice*, p. 92. The parliament was determined at any rate to proceed against these lords, so as that the quarter granted by Fairfax, or that mercy to which he had consigned them availed little. Lord Capell, when brought to his trial, appeared undaunted, and refused to submit to the jurisdiction of the court, saying, that in the condition and capacity of a soldier and a prisoner of war, the lawyers and gownsmen had nothing to do with him, and urged the declaration of the General, that none of their lives should be in danger. These and many other arguments availed nothing; he was sentenced and suffered death in a firm and heroic manner, in March, 1649.

upon the most wealthy. Of this he afterwards abated 2,000*£*. and of the 12,000*£*. when raised, he gave as a gratuity to his officers and soldiers 10,000*£*. and as some compensation to the poor for the evil and ruin that had befallen them, 2,000*£*. for a temporary supply to procure them such necessary articles of maintenance and employment as they stood in need of.

The foe being subdued, the town made incapable of defence, the country forces dismissed, and all things ready for departure, Fairfax gathered his troops together and set forward on his journey. The soldiers of the Lord Goring, increased the numbers of the army, and accommodations being scarce, the prisoners of course fared ill. They were lodged in the churches of those places through which they passed, or other buildings of like convenience. Scanty covering, and little food or rest, brought upon many of them debility and disease, and thus rendered an incumbrance to their conquerors, several were pistoled in the highways. Others arrived at
their

their end through famine, and some unable to purchase or procure their redemption were sold * to be transported into foreign countries as servants and slaves.

The ill effects resulting to Colchester, from all these transactions, of which it had been the theatre, were numerous, and promised to be such as neither time or labour could remove. Many of the churches were much damaged, and several destroyed †. Above 300 houses ‡ were pulled down, burnt, or ruined, and the goods of the inhabitants carried away or made useless. The mansions of the Lord Lucas and Sir Harbottle Grimstone rendered untenable, deprived the people of the advantage and protection those families afforded. Poverty and distress fell upon great numbers, some

* If this be fact, it was probably done with the consent of the prisoner, to raise money for his redemption.

† The priory church of St. Botolph was beat down and burnt during the siege.

‡ In the six parishes of St. Mary at the Walls, Holy Trinity, St. Martin, St. James, St. Botolph, and St. Giles only, there were 186 houses destroyed.

some through the loss suffered during the siege, and others by the imposition of exorbitant fines. Finally, trade received a mortal blow, from the dispersion of the manufacturers, who impelled by fear, distress, and want of employment, fled into the country towns and villages, and taught their arts to others.

The tyranny that was exercised in the ensuing year was unexampled. The arbitrary sums imposed for taxes amounted to no less than 16,000£*, from the surrender of the town to the protectorate of Cromwell, being a period of five years only. In other respects, the rights of the subject were most violently trampled upon

* The rents within the town and liberties in 1657, were found to be only 8503£. 10s. and the stocks 51623£. In 1652 the rents were 8272£. 19s. and the stocks 27418£.

The learned president Montesquieu says, " Abolish the exclusive jurisdiction of boroughs, and you will soon have a republican system of government, or an absolute monarchy." The conduct of Cromwell in effect, tended to one of these extremes.

upon, and a conduct divested of every principle of law or honesty openly pursued. The crafty politics of Cromwell tended to a more compleat abolition of liberty, than the open or disguised systems of slavery, practised or attempted by the most despotic of the kings of England. It was in his view, and the constant charge to his wily agents, to get the corporations and boroughs into his hands, by procuring the abject and obsequious tools of his designs, to be elected into the chief offices of rank and magistracy. In what manner these intentions were performed, may ^{A.D.} be discovered from the directions given to 1655. Major Haynes, replete with cunning, and affected moderation; and overlaid with the most specious smoothness. These orders being a complete specimen of the political system of the times, would suffer injury in abridgment, and it is therefore necessary to give them entire.

“ Oliver P. There haveing beene of late severall complaints from the auncient aldermen and divers other well-affected inhabitants

tants of the towne of Colchester that for some tyme past ellections have bin made of severall persons to the government therof who are altogether unable of publique imployment to the great discouragement of many honest men liveing in and about that towne, wherupon we did the 28th day of June last order that their should be a forbearance of ellection of persons into the magistracy, or common counsell of the said towne till we should otherwise determine: And forasmuch as we are informed that Arthur Barnardiston the recorder of the said towne is lately deceased, by which vacancy, and the not appointing of other officers for this present yeere, the said towne is under some streights and inconveniences: And understanding that you are shortly to be at the said towne, Our will and pleasure is, that at your comeing thither you give directions to the mayor, that whilst you are there, they proceede to the ellection of a recorder and also of a mayor and other officers for the present yeere, in which ellection you are to take speciall care that the electors and elected be qualified according to

to our late proclamation * : And certifie the names of the persons soe elected unto us, that being approved they may be sworne accordingly, and also to give us a speedy account herin. Given at Whitehall the 4th of December 1655. For Major Haynes."

It is needless to animadvert upon a conduct in which the principles of tyranny are so evident, or to comment upon a mandate so repugnant to the acknowledged and avowed rights of the people, both by prescription and grant. But enthusiasm on one side, and astonishment on the other, seemed to have taken away from the people the power of reasoning in the most ordinary and obvious cases.

In this deplorable state of subjection to an unprincipled tyrant, and of mental depravation arising from a pursuit of the fantastic illusions of dreaming visionaries; the restoration of the ancient form of government, and

of

* That the electors and elected should receive their qualification by proclamation, was an innovation daring and extraordinary.

of that corner stone of the constitution a sovereign to possess the executive power, gave life to the decaying and nearly extinct spirit of those, whose steadiness and sufferings in the cause of justice, religion, and honour, had been great and unequalled.

And now the public lamentation no longer smothered by abject fear, broke forth for those whom civil rage, private revenge, and the assumed form of public justice had consigned to the tomb. In Colchester, the funerals of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, performed before in a private and obscure manner, were, with every token of honourable remembrance and distinction, magnificently solemnized by the magistrates and the public; and a tablet of stone placed over their grave, to perpetuate the honour of their actions, and the infamy of those who caused them to suffer.

1665. To all the ills that within the series of a few years had been heaped upon the inhabitants, one more was yet added, of greater weight

weight and feverity than any preceding, as it admitted of no remedy or escape. That mortal distemper the plague in its awful and uncontrollable ravages, during a period of sixteen months*, in which it raged, swept off near 5,000 of those whom famine, the sword, and the calamities of civil discord had spared. To alleviate the distress occasioned by this evil, the hand of charity was extended. Private gifts came from every quarter, and the public joined its assistance. A tax of 108*£*. a month was laid upon the country, for a district of five miles around the precincts of the town; and 250*£*. a month upon the divisions of Lexden, Dunmow, and Hinckford hundreds. Out of a sum collected in London by order of the king, 1311*£*. was sent to be distributed to the most wretched, and every relief that humanity could bestow, or that commiseration and suffering could procure, was in a most worthy and liberal manner cheerfully supplied.

It

* By some accounts kept, the number amounted to 4731 persons: the greatest mortality in one week, was 195.

It is scarcely to be conceived that a country, the boast of which is a conservation of public and private rights, and the general principles of political liberty through the war of time, accident, or design, should give birth to, or foster any of such a mean, abject, and slavish spirit, as would receive pleasure in a voluntary surrender of those rights which had been the national boast. Yet such appeared, and from a desire of enjoying the smile and approbation of royalty, or from more unworthy and dishonourable motives, surrendered at the foot of the throne, in the true language of fawning sycophants, "As a testimony of their duty and loyalty, the charter of their incorporation at his majesty's feet, humbly beseeching him to confirm their ancient customs and prescriptions, and to regrant them such privileges as his majesty in his princely wisdom should think meet.*"

A.D.
1684.

The subversive principles of Cromwell had not passed unnoticed, and the people seemed willing to embrace that slavery which the restoration

* Book of Assemblies, 1694, p. 296, &c.

floration had given them an opportunity to escape from. The arbitrary mandate of Oliver, and the obsequious servility of the magistrates to Charles, tended to the same unworthy object—the abolition of exclusive jurisdictions, or putting the members of them, who were trustees of the peculiar rights of the people, into the hands of the executive power; whereby tyranny might ensue. The “princely wisdom” of Charles referred to by these dutiful and loyal betrayers of the public confidence, thought it the most sapient measure to abridge the inhabitants of Colchester of their constitutional and just rights, and to retain a liberty of removing by order of privy council, any turbulent and conscientious observer of the charge committed to his care. In a new charter which was graciously issued all things were arranged in conformity to those bonds of servility, which the Monarch was not averse to impose, or his most obsequious people of Colchester to receive.

The same system of slavery, was pursued
in the following reign of James. A legal ^{A. D.} _{1688.}
T process

process was formally instituted against the public officers acting under the last charter, and soon after it was collusively surrendered, A new one issued forthwith, peculiarly suited to the narrow and contracted designs of James, and the genius of the catholic religion which he vainly wished to introduce. The number of the officers were still more reduced, and capriciously removed, or put in authority, according to the assumed power contained in the clause which his predecessor had invented.

Few things so strongly mark the earnest perseverance of Charles and James, to accomplish their despotic purpose of absolute monarchy, as the unwearied pains they regularly and systematically took, to get the burghs in their power; so as that by depriving them of independence, or by the surer means of corrupt influence, these constitutional barriers against tyranny, might not stand as obstacles in their design.

To these iniquitous measures, the revolution, that grand period of English liberty, put
an

an effectual stop. The attorney general of the king, was ordered to inspect the proceedings, that related to the surrender of the charter in 1684; who reported them to have been undue and ineffectual. A renewal, therefore, of all the ancient rights and privileges of the burgh, upon that extensive and liberal plan, which characterizes the spirit, and marks the proceedings of that glorious æra, was un-^{A.D.}reservedly granted by William and Mary. _{1693.}

Deeds, great and heroic in themselves, produce effects not ever the result of a mean and timorous conduct. The regeneration of British liberty by the voluntary restrictions of the executive power, and the enlargement of the limits of popular privilege, instantaneously, and more completely extinguished civil feud, and the jealous watchings of a suspicious caution, than could have been effected in an age by force or political craft. The national mind hitherto cramped, was unbent from solicitude, and left at ease to the prosecution of improvement, and the enjoyments of more refined modes of life. Arts, manufacture, and

and commerce, were sedulously resorted to ; and the barrier of private and secluded portions of the state broken. The walls and gates of the feudal burgh, shorn of its battlements, were thrown down, to admit at every avenue, the flux and reflux of internal wealth. The repair of highways, and opening rivers choaked by neglect, rendered every corner of the kingdom easy of access, whether for pleasure or merchandise ; and served well to connect and consolidate the pecuniary interest of the burghs, with that of the metropolis. Thus connected and consolidated, their importance is reduced ; their historical facts of less moment, and no longer disjunct and independent ; but like the ancient Baron removed from his primitive dignity to a menial attendance upon royalty, are become the degraded appendages of a proud and overgrown capital, and involved in the vortex of its corruption.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

OF

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

*From the Chronicle written about the age of Edward III.
in an ancient Record Book in the Moot-hall, Colchester.*

- A.D. **C**OELE Dux Colcestr' cepit regnare super Essex'
238 & Hertford'.
242 Helena filia Coelis nascitur in Colocestria.
260 Constantius Dux Romanor' in Hispaniis Britanniam
navigans, civitatem Colocestriam obcedit triennio.
264 Soluta est obsidio sponfacione nuptiarum Helene
filie Coelis.
265 Constantinus filius Constantii nascit' in Colocestria
ex Helena adhuc concubina.
288 Constantius cum Galerrio Cesar appellat' Gallearum.
290 Coel Dux Colcestr' occiso Asclepiodoto tyranno,
regnavit sup. totam Britanniam, sub tributo tum
Romanor'.
297 Coel Rex Britonum fortissimus obiit Colocestrie
mense 2do.
298 Constantius Colocestrie rediens de Galliis disponit de
regno.
299 Constantius imperator obiit Eboraci anno Imperii
sui xvi.
303 Helena mortuo Constantio perpetuam vovit viduitatem.

Two of Chancellor Audley's Letters.

AFTER my right herty commendacion to your Lordship, beyng enformed by Maitr. Pollard, that the King's majeste myndeth to reteyne and kepe in his graces hands, the late monastery of seynt Johns of Colcestour, I cannot but thereat be satisfied, and in al thyngs that shal be his magesties pleasure. And yet your Lordship knowith, that fyrst savyng the Howse and Parks at seynt. Oses by his graces own assignement, duryng his highnes pleasure, and after the Howse of Seynt Johns, and the lands nere adjoynnyng by your means apoynted to me by his highnes, and now to forego al this shalbe no litell losse to my poor honeste and estimacion, consydering this to be in the Contree where I was borne and most part browt up, and also these thyngs to ly nere my poore howse and lands, that I fyrst bylded and bowt, but his graces goodnes hath been so gretly shewyd to me, that whatsoever his highnes pleasure ys or shalbe, I am and ever will be therewith content, for eny other respects in the world. pray ues your good lordship to helpe to further my sute to his Majeste for an exchange, accordyng to a bill hereyn enclosyd, and if his grace wold be my good lord therin, I will never hereafter trobill his Mageste for eny sute to his gravis charyte for myself, but to holde me full satisfied in all thyngs, and this exchange well ponderyd, ys more profitable to his highnes than to me; for I leve the reversion in his highnes, and I do it not nor wolde trobil his highnes with yt, but that the thyngs that I desire ly so nere and mixt with my othir londs. sythen his mageste made me baron, and sythen I maryed my wyff, I never axyd eny thyng, and I am not abashyd, but that I hope by your meanys, his highnes will be so gracious lord to me to graunt this sute. the overplus of his gravis londe passith not 21 *l.* or litell more above myne, and for that his highnes shall stil save the reversion of al that I shal have of his grace; and if his gravis pleasure be to graunt me this, I will leve my sute for the Howse of Seynt John's, and never trobill his Mageste for that, nor none other thyng to his highnes charge hereafter. I maryed at his Magestes commaundment, and his grace sayd, that he
wold

wold consider it, and what I shud have had otherwise, your lordship knowith for avancement of myn Heyrs. but yet I repent never a whytt my mariage, but have gret cause to thanke the Kyng's Mageste for enduyng me to it, for assuredly I have happened of oon moche to my contentacion and honeste. And if God send us childern whiche I desire, the Kyng's Mageste hath made me a Baron, and al my londe excedith not clerely viii.c*l*. whereat I am right wel content, praying your good lordshipp to-morrow or Monday, to move the King's Mageste in this my poor sute, and to make min excuse, that I wayte not upon his highnes accordyng to my most bounden dute. For I assure your lordshipp, I am so trobilled in my right foote that I cannot stepp nor goo; the payn ys a lytel slaked, but the forenes and styffnes remaineth. And thus fyttynge in my chayer with a fore foote, I trobill your lordshipp with a longe letter, praying you esthones to assaye this my pour sute, now oon of these 2 dayes in myn absens, beyng in good hoope, that the Kyng's Mageste wyl gracysfully here yt, and althoughe it be not any gret profitable thyng, yet it shall be moche to my comfort, honeste, and estymacion; and also a full satisfacion for ever; and thus fare your good lordshipp as hertely wel as I wold myself, scribiled this Satyrday with a fore and akyng foote,

your lordshippes assured
to his pour

Thomas Audeley, Chancellor.

I SEND to your lordshipp a byll heryn enclosyd, of suche londs as I desire of the King's Highnes, and of suche londs as his grace shule have of me; my londs, the decanary of Seynt Botulphe, ly amongs the londs of Seynt Jones on the bakfyd of the howse. my parsonages be symyler good and never emprowed, and in every of them ther ys a Vycare endowed, having good lyvynges confyderyng the Kyng's Highnes makyth bishoppes, they be as good as eny temporal londs for them; for on my fayth they be very good and well payen, and if the yeres were owt, I could have gret fynes for them; as for Est Donylond

lond lyeth a gret wey from Seynt Johns, and I have a Myll there of myne owen, and my londs mixt with it. and as for Chetford, I have xcviij. yeris in yt, and it lyeth by me at Walde fferr from any of the King's londs. My lord, I pray you take payn for me herin as an earnest ffreind, and make an end of this my sute, and I will giff you xl. li. i of redy mony with my herty good will and vyce, that may lye in my litel pour as soon as ever my bil shalbe signed,

your lordshippes

affured,

Thomas Audeley, Chancelour.

The Bayliff of Colchester's Letter to the Earl of Leicester, &c.

OURE most humble dutie premised. Right honourable, we have by thys our Offycer sent unto your Lordship a horse-load of our Colchester-Oysters, beinge most hartelye forye we have not any better thinge to present your Lordship, seinge as your Lordship hathe byn suche a continuall patron to our Towne, that we account by your Lordship's meanes we have the fruition of our Libertyes, which others heretofore have sough to depryve us of: Desiringe your Lordship to accept thys our simple remembrance in good parte. And whereas heretofore the division and controversyes, which have been amonge ourselves have occasioned your Lordship to mislyek of our Towne (as justly we did deserve); the same, prayded be God, now are abandoned, and unitie hath supplied the place, as by the quyet and peaceable late election of Bayliffs and other officers is shewed. We therefore shall most humbly beseeche your Lordship to continue our good Lord, and to conceyve the best of us notwithstanding any complaint shal be inforced against us untill our aunswer therto be herde, and that your Lordship wyll have us in remembrance when any Commission shall procede for any affayers within our Towne, that the Bayliffs and Justices of our Town with Mr. Morice our Towne-clark might be in commission therefore, the want whereof here of late hathe byn great discountenance to the Bayliffs,

Your Lordship's most humble to command,
To the right honourable our
verie good Lord the Earle
of Leicester. Robert Mott, } Bayliffe
Tho. Cock. }

They wrote a Letter, the same day, and very near in the same words, to Sir Francis Walsingham: Both their Answers follow, copied from the originals.

The Earl of Leycester's Letter.

“ After my fight hartye comendacons. I have receyved your l^rs and the oifers you sent me, and do very hartilye thancke you for them, and for your often courtesies in visiting me many tymes with the lyke, which as occasion shall serve, I will not forget to requyte. Touching your towne my affection is and shalbe as it hath bene allwayes, viz. very ready to do any thing I may for it, And so shall you well perceyve as any oocation shalbe offred wherein I may stand it in steade. In the mean tyme gladd to heare of your good quyet, which I wish longe to continewe, I thus bid you right hartily farewell. From the Court the 17th of September 1579.

Your very loving frende,
R. LEYCESTER."

Sir Francis Walsyngham's Letter.

“ After my hartie comendations. I have receaved your letter of the fourthe of this pⁿt, and am verie glad therby to underftand that all your controversies be fo well appeaced and that you are grown to fo good an unitie amonge your felfes: the continuance wherof I greatly wythe, as the only thinge that fhall make your towne to prosper, and to

bee well thought of of all men. Towching your liberties, for that in other Incorporations I have seen sometyms so much standing upon Charters and Priviledges, that hir Majesties necessarie service hathe thereby been hindred, I would not wiske you except it be in some great poynt that may towche your towne decply to stand upon them : notwithstanding I will be carefull for the preservation of the same as farre forth as conveniently I maye in the direction of Comissions and all kynd of service from this place. So withe my hartie thanckes for your present of oysters I bid you farewell. From the Court at Greenwich the fyfte of September 1579.

Your very loving frend,
FRA. WALSINGHAM."

A Letter of Thomas Barrington and others, two Letters of Oliver Cromwell, and one from the Earl of Essex, to the Mayor of Colchester.

" Gentlemen,
WEE have acquainted the Parliament with your extraordinary Care and Paines in advancing the Proposicions for the raisinge of horse, armes, money and plate for the defence of the Kinge, Parliament, and kingdom; but how well your services are accepted of and what thanks we are enjoined to give yourselves and the rest of the gentlemen, free-houlders and others of your towne for your zeales therein, and how farre they have engaged themselves for the protection and defence of the county: the order of both Houses of Parliament will better speak it then our letter, and for your better satisfactions, to that wee must for the present referre yee which Mr. Grimeston will acquaint you with. The perfectinge of that work begunne by you with soe great affection, and wherein you have mett with so much inconvenience both from the Parliament and people, is the occasion of this letter. And in the first place wee are commanded to desire yee to send away the money and plate subscribed for, with all the speede yee can. And likewise to give particular notice to them that have engaged themselves

themselves for the findinge of horses, to bring them upp to London, where there is order taken for the present in-rollinge and vallueinge of them. Many Lords doe want horse, to make upp their troupes, and the service and safety of the kingdome doe much depend uppon your *activitie and dispatch* herein which wee have cause to be very confident of. And soe with the remembrance of our kindest respects, &c. wee rest your assured lovinge friends,

Aug. 22,
1642.

Tho. Barrington. Mart. Lumley.
Henry Mildmay. Wm. Martham.
Har. Grimston."

" Gentlemen,

UPON the cominge down of your townsmen to Cambridge, Capt. Langlie not knowinge how to dispose of them, desired mee to nominate a fitt Captaine, which I did, an honest, religious, valliant Gentleman, Capt. Dodsworth the bearer heereof. Hee hath diligently attended the service, and much improved his men in their exercise, But hath beene unhappie beyond others, in not receauinge any pay, for himselfe, and what Hee had for his souldiers, is out long agoe. Hee hath by his prudence what with sayre, and winninge carriage, what with monie borrowed kept them together, Hee is able to do soe noe longer, they will presently disband if a course bee not taken, it's pittye it should bee soe, for I belieue they are brought into as good order as most companies in the Armie. Besid's at this instant there is great need to vse them, I having receaued a special command from my Lord Generall to aduance with what force wee can to putt an ende (if itt may bee) to this worke (God soe assistinge) from whome all helpe cometh. I beseech you therefore consider this gentleman, and the souldiers, and if itt bee possible, make up his companie a hundred and twenty, and send them away with what expedition is possible, itt may (through God's blessinge) proue very happie, one months pay more proue all your trouble.

I speake

I speake to wise men, God direct you, I rest, yours to
serve you,

OLIVER CROMWELL."

March 23,
1642-3.

Directed, To the Maior of Colchester,
and Captain John Langley.

" Gent."

I THOUGHT it my duty once more to write unto
yow for more strength to be speedily sent unto us for
this great service; I suppose yow heare of the great de-
feat given by my L. Fairfax to the Newcastle: Forces at
Wakefield; it was a great mercy of God to us, and had
it not bin bestowed upon us at this very present, my Lo:
Fairfax had not knowne how to have subsisted: we as-
sure yow, should the force we have miscarry, expect no-
thing but a speedy march of the enemy up unto yow;
why yow should not strengthen us to make us subsist,
judg yow the danger of the neglect, and how incon-
venient this improvidence or unthrifty may be to yow;
I shall never write but according to my judgment, I tell
yow againe it concernes yow exceedingly to be perswaded
by me: My Lor: Newcastle is near 6000 foot and about
60 troopes of horse: my Lo: Fairfax is about 3000
foot and 9 troopes of horse; and we have about 24 troopes
of horse and Dragooners: The enemy drawes more to
the Lo: Fairfax; Our motion and yours must be exceed-
ing speedy, or elce it will doe you noe good at all; if
yow send let your men come to Boston, I beseech you
hasten the supply to us: forget not monie. I presse not
hard, though I doe see need that I assure yow the foot and
Dragooners are ready to mutiny: lay not too much
upon the back of a poore Gentl' who desires without
much noyse to lay downe his life, and bleed the last
dropp to serve the Cause and yow: I aske not your mo-
nie for my selfe, if that were my end and hope (viz. the
pay of my place,) I would not open my mouth at this
time. I desire to denie my selfe, but others will not be
satisfied: I beseech yow hasten supplies. Forget not your
prayers. Gent' I am yours,

May 28, 1643.

OL. CROMWELL."

" Gent'

“ Gent’

THE designe now resolved upon for the Kingdome service, for the advance of the Army, is of that concernment that I thought good to desire your assistance, in causing all the inhabitants of your Countie according to my warrant sent to your High Constables, presently with what Armes, Clubbs, and other instruments of warre, to march forthwith and to appoint a common rendezowz at Chesham in Buckinghamsh. and to bring a monthes pay in their purses, and let them not doubt, but they shall have the Assistance of the Armie, and of what Commanders and Officers for their succour in this designe is fitt: I expect your furtherance by the power you have in the County, and that yow see the Warrants executed by those whom it concernes, and use your endeavours to make a Generall rising, and that you take notice of all those that shall refuse or discourage the worke; it being now a time wherein is necessary to be known who are friends to the Kingdome, and who are not: foe noe waife doubting of your encouraging this service, I rest
 May 29, 1643. Essex.”

Mandamus from Oliver Cromwell to Major Haynes.

“ Oliver P.

THERE having beene of late severall Complaints from the Auncient Aldermen and divers other well-affected Inhabitants of the Towne of Colchester that for some tyme past elections have bin made of severall persons to the Government thereof who are altogether unable of publique imployment to the great discouragement of many honest Men liveing in and about that Towne, whereupon we did the 28th day of June last order that their should be a forbearance of election of persons into the Magistracy, or Common Councell of the said Towne till we should otherwise determine: And forasmuch as we are informed that Arthur Barnadiston the Recorder of the said Towne is lately deceased, by which vacancy, and the not appointing of other Officers for this present yeere, the said Towne is under some streights
and

and inconveniencies: And understanding that you are shortly to be at the said Towne, Our will and pleasure is, that at your coming thither you give directions to the Mayor, that whilst you are there, they proceede to the election of a Recorder and also of a Mayor and other officers for the present yeere, in which election you are to take speciall care that the Electors and elected be qualified according to our late Proclamation: And certifye the names of the persons soe elected unto us, that being approved they may be sworne accordingly, and also to give us a speedy account herin. Given at Whitehall the 4th of December 1655. For Major Haynes."

Articles agreed upon the 27th of August, 1648, by and betwene the Commissioners of his Excellency the Lord Generall Fairfax, on the one Part; and the Commissioners of the Earl of Norwich, Lord Capell, and Sir Charles Lucas, on the other Part; for and concerning the Rendition of the Town and Garrison of Colchester.

I. **T**HAT all the horses belonging to the Officers, Souldiers, and Gentlemen, engaged in Colchester, with Saddles and Bridles to them, shall be brought into Maries Church-yard by 9 of the clock to-morrow morning, and the spare Saddles and Bridles into that Church, and delivered without wilful spoyle to such as the Lord Generall shall appoint to take charge of them.

II. That all the Arms, Colours, and Drums belonging to any of the persons in Colchester above-mentioned, shall be brought into St. James Church, by ten of the clock to-morrow morning, and delivered without wilful spoyle or imbezement to such as the Lord Generall shall appoint to take charge of them.

III. That all private Souldiers and Officers under Captains, shall be drawne together into the Fryers Yard, adjoining to the East-Gate, by ten of the clock to-morrow morning, with their Cloathes and Baggage, their persons to be rendred into the custody of such as the Lord Generall shall appoint to take charge of them, and that they shall have faire Quarter, according to the explanation

planation made in the answer to the first *Quære* of the Commissioners from Colchester, which is hereunto annexed.

IV. That the Lords, and all Captaines, and superiour Officers, and Gentlemen of quality, ingaged in Colchester, shall be drawne together to the King's Head, with their Clothes and Baggage, by eleven of the clock to-morrow morning, and there render themselves to the mercy of the Lord Generall, into the hands of such as he shall appoint to take charge of them, and that a Lift of the names of all the generall Officers, and Field Officers, now in command in the Towne, be sent out to the Lord Generall by nine of the clock in the morning.

V. That all the Guards within the Towne of Colchester shall be withdrawne from the Line, Forts, and other places, by eight of the clock to-morrow morning, and such as the Lord Generall shall appoint shall thereupon come into their roomes.

VI. That all the Ammunition shall be preserved in the places where it lyes, to be delivered to the Comptroller of his Excellencies Traine by ten of the clock to-morrow morning; and all the Waggon's belonging to the Souldery, or Persons engaged, with the Harnesse belonging thereunto, shall be brought to some convenient place neare the Ammunition, to be delivered to the same person by the same houre,

VII. That such as are wounded and sick in the Towne shall be there kept and provided for, with accommodation requisite for men in their condition, and not removed thence, untill they be recovered, or able without prejudice to their healths to remove, and shall have such Chyrurgions allowed to look to them as are now in the Towne.

VIII. That all Ordnance in the Towne with their appurtenances shall, without wilful spoyle, be left at the severall platformes, or places where they are now planted, and so delivered to his Excellencies Guard, that shall take the charge of those places respectively.

IX. That from henceforth there shall be a Cessation of Arms on both parts, but the Forces within the Towne to keep their own Guards and the Lord Generalls to keepe theirs,

theirs, untill they shall be removed according to the Articles aforegoing.

Signed by us,

The Commissioners on the
behalf of his Excellency
the Lord Fairfax.

Tho. Honywood
H. Ireton
Tho. Rainborowe
Edward Whalley
Wil. Bloys
Bram. Gurdon
J. Sparrow
Isaac Ewer
Tho. Cooke
G. Barnadiston.

The Commissioners on the
behalf of the E. of Nor-
wich, the L. Capel, and
Sir Charles Lucas.

William Compton
Ab. Shipman
Edw. Hammond
S. Tuke
William Ayloffe.

Heith, August 27, 1648.

*Quæries propounded by the Commissioners from Colchester,
to the Commissioners of his Excellency the Lord Fair-
fax, upon the Conditions sent into the Towne.*

1. **W**HAT is meant by faire Quarter? 2. *What by rendring to Mercy?* Answ. To the first, By faire Quarter we understand, That with Quarter for their lives they shall be free from wounding or beating; shall enjoy warme clothes to cover them and keep them warme; shall be maintained with victuals fit for prisoners while they shall be kept prisoners. To the 2d. By *rendring to Mercy* we understand, That they be rendred or render themselves to the Lord Generall or whom he shall appoint, without certaine assurance of Quarter, so as the Lord Generall, may be free to put some immediately to the sword (if he see cause) although his Excellency intends chiefly and for the generality of those under that condition, to surrender them to the mercy of the Parliament and Generall. There hath been large experience, neither

neither hath his Excellency given cause to doubt of his civility to such as he shall retain prisoners, although by their being rendred to mercy, he stands not engaged thereby.

Upon return of these Answers, the Commissioners from Colchester, propounded these two further Quæries.

1. *Whether these that were surrendered to Mercy, shall enjoy their wearing cloathes, as well those on their backs, as what other change they have?* 2. *Whether the Noblemen and Officers shall have use of their owne Horses to the places where they shall be confined?* To which was answered by his Excellencies Commissioners. *To the first,* It is intended that those who shall be rendred and received to mercy, shall enjoy the wearing clothes on their backs; but for more the Generall will not be engaged. *To the second,* It is expected (in case of surrender upon treaty) That all Horses as well as Arms be delivered up, and for circumstances thereof there is to be an Article yet for the Gentlemen and Officers under this condition in question, (when any of them shall be removed to the places of confinement) his Excellency will take care for Horses to carry them (with respect to their qualities), but for allowing their owne Horses he will not be engaged.

Letter of Lord Fairfax to the Earl of Manchester, &c.

“ My Lord,

I HAVE herewith sent you the Articles, with the Explanations annexed, upon which it hath pleased God in his best time to deliver the town of Colchester, and the enemy therein into your hands without further bloodshed, saving that (for some satisfaction to Military Justice, and in part of revenge for the innocent blood they have caused to be spilt, and the trouble, damage, and mischief they have brought upon the Towne, this Country, and the Kingdome) I have with the advice of a Counsell of Warre of the chiefe Officers both of the Country Forces and the Army, caused two of them who were rendred at

[C]

mercy

mercy to be shot to death before any of them had Quarter assured them. The persons pitched upon for this example were, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, *in whose Military execution I hope your Lordships will not find cause to thinke your Honour or Justice prejudiced.* As for the Lord Goring, Lord Capell, and the rest of the persons rendred to mercy, and now assured of Quarter; of whose names I have sent your Lordships a particular List, I doe hereby render to the Parliaments judgement for further publique Justice and Mercy to be used as you shall see cause. I desire God may have the glory of his multiplied mercies towards you and the Kingdome in this kinde, and in the condition of instruments as to the service here, the Officers and Souldiers of Essex and Suffolke (who in this time of so dangerous defection have adhered constant to yours and the Kingdomes interest) for their faithfull demeanour and patient indurance in the hardships of this service are not to be forgotten.

Hieth, 29 Aug. Your Lordships most humble servant,
1648. *T. FAIRFAX."*

"I desire Mr. Mair of Colchester to give present order for the bringing in and delivering unto Thomas Matthew Captain of the Pioneers, five hundred spades, pickaxes, shovells, pickaxes and hatchetts for the demolishing of the workes and *part of the Walls* about the towne of Colchester. Given under my hand the first of September 1648. FAIRFAX."

Extract from "Short Memorials of Thomas Lord Fairfax, written by himself." 8vo. 1699. p. 121.

IT is fit for me in this place to say something for my own vindication about my Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, who were prisoners at Mercy upon the rendring of Colchester, seeing some have questioned the just performance of those Articles. I laid siege to the Town, and made several Assaults: But finding their forces within much more numerous than those I had without, I was forced to take another course in blocking them up, and, by cutting off all supplies, to bring

bring them to a Surrender; which after four months close feige they were compelled to, and that upon Mercy, being in number three or four thousand men; and delivering upon Mercy, is to be understood that some are to suffer, the rest to go free. Immediately after our entrance into the Town, a Council of War was called, and those fore-named persons were sentenced to Die, the rest to be acquitted. This being so resolved, I thought fit notwithstanding to transmit the Lord Capel, the Lord Norwich, &c. over to the Parliament, being the Civil Judicature of the Kingdom, consisting then both of Lords and Commons, and so most proper judges in their case; who were considerable for Estates and Families: But Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, being mere Soldiers of fortune, and falling into our hands by chance of war, were executed; and in this I did nothing but according to my Commission, and the Trust reposed in me. But it may be objected I went into the Court during the Trial; to which I answer, it was at the earnest request of my Lord Capel's friends, who desired me to explain there what was meant by surrendering to mercy: Otherwise I had not gone, being always unsatisfied with these Courts. For this I need say no more, seeing I may as well be questioned for the articles of Bristol, Oxford, Exeter, or any other action in the War as this.

One thing more requires I should say something to, before I conclude; that is, concerning papers and declarations of the Army that came out in my Name, and the Council of Officers. I say from the time they declared their usurped authority at Triplow-Heath, I never gave my free consent to any thing they did: but being yet undischarged of my place, they set my name in way of course to all their papers, whether I consented or not: and to such failings are all authorities subject. Under Parliament Authority many injuries have been done; so here hath a General's power been broken and crumbled into a levelling faction. Yet even this I hope all impartial judges will interpret as force and ravishment of a good Name, rather than a voluntary Consent, which might make me equally criminal with that faction.

Scarce

Scarce Pamphlet printed in 1648.

A true and perfect Relation of the Condition of those Noblemen and Gentlemen in Colcheſter: and of their Reason in yielding up the ſaid Towne to the Lord Fairfax.

I BELIEVE a *Letter* will bring little, or no *danger* with it, as the caſe now ſtands; and I rather ſend this to you, becauſe I wiſh both yours, and my friends clear ſatisfaction, concerning the affaires of this place: I ſhall be brief in it, not miſ-leading you, by diſguiſing or concealing any materiall part of the matter.

Who ſo conſiders the place we were to defend, will rather repute it a Quarter than a Garriſon, and our ſtay in it was by conſtraint, not choice; the Lord *Fairfax* comming ſooner upon us than was expected, prevented our march into other Counties. The meanes we had to defend it, a competent number of Men ſubitarily gotten together, Officer'd (for a great part) rather by ſuch as had credit to get them together, and induce them to engage, than ſufficiently ſkillfull to Conduſt them: yet that infirmity in the compoſition was ſupplied by the induſtry of other Officers, though they had not the means and opportunity of bringing in numbers, and the kindneſſe that all in generall had to advance the KING and *Kingdomes* ſervice; by which means, this Body which was rather fit to hold up a Tumult, hath by the bravery and diligence of the Gentry, made (for this 11 *Weeks*) no inconfiderable War with a veteran Army, and a fortunate Generall.

Colcheſter was altogether undeſigned, and unprepared both in reſpect of Fortification, Victuall, and Ammunition: the firſt we provided for, as well as we could, by our induſtry, the other by our patience, in eating Horſe-fleſh; and could we alſo have provided ourſelves with Ammunition, in proportion equall to our occaſion, and willingneſſe to have employed it, you ſhould have heard of more frequent Sallies; and we have kept off the Enemy a much longer time from approaching ſo neare us, which yet was the leſſe troubleſome to us, becauſe (as our caſe ſtood) nothing was more deſirable, and deſired than
that

that he would have, either by Mine, or Battery, engaged himself to justifie a Breach, or Storme. It was not un-
 seen by us how mortall our condition was, and there-
 fore I will relate to you the Catastrophe of this affaire,
 which will lie under the most various interpretation, the
 worst of conditions being received: but, if I mistake
 not, it is the greatest testimony of the Gentlemens sin-
 cerity to the businesse, and how remotely they considered
 themselves; *Their resolution was by their constancy to give
 leifure to the KING's Affaires, and not to weaken the con-
 fidence of the Kingdome, by asking after a Treaty, which
 is seldome otherwise than a certain sign of the dissolution
 of an Army or Garrison. And it was not improbable
 that either the Lord Fairfax must remove to aide the
 North, or Cromwell must engage against the Scots with
 dis-advantage; or that some other part would be active;
 if not timely enough drawn together to relieve us, yet it
 would leave men engaged, and the KING's and Kingdomes
 businesse promoted was that we staid for; And I may
 very truly affirme, never any sacrificed themselves so totally
 to their businesse, and lesse considered themselves, than this
 Party, I had the honour to accompany in this engage-
 ment. And these are clearly the Reasons why the way to a
 Treaty was not sooner opened.*

Our expectation, in this last Article of our businesse,
 was very unexpectedly deceived by our Foot, whose courage
 else I could not have sufficiently commended, had they not
 failed us only in this last part; Our ultimate resolution
 was, and Orders were given to draw both Horse and Foot
 out, and break through the Enemies Line, and the resolu-
 tion that would have succeeded it (though another was
 discoursed of) was, to fall with all we could make upon
 the Hive, [Hyth] the Lord Fairfax his quarter, and where
 their Ammunition was. For my owne part, I think that
 in desperate cases the boldest resolution is the best, and
 safest: but a rumour was spread, and generally believed
 by our common Foot, that the Gentlemen and the Horse
 intended to break through the Enemies Line, and then
 leave the Foot to their fortune. Upon this apprehension,
 the Foot deluded by some inferiour Officers, resolved to keep
 within the Line, and not to suffer any Horse to march
 out;

out; and very palpable it was, that instead of attacking the Enemy, we had fallen one upon another: so that there is but two things now left to our election, either to suffer the Enemy to march over our Line; for evident it was our Foot would not have much disputed it, (such a sudden alteration had the want of Bread, and misapprehension of the Gentlemen, wrought in them) and so every person had been the ill-favouredst way exposed to the tumultuary violence of the Enemies Souldiery; or else in a more orderly manner to render our selves Prisoners to their Generall; which last (with most reason I think) was Chosen.

I have now given you the very same impression of this business which in truth I have of it in my owne sense and understanding, and for such I assure my selfe you will take it, and with it, the hearty affection of

Your faithfull Servant.

We had lived 6 Weeks upon Horse-flesh, 3 daies without Bread, and remaining (as the chief Officer of the Store told me) but 3 Barrels of Powder in store: though since the Enemy saith, they have got together 8 or 10.

Since the writing of this, came to my hands a Relation in one of the *London trints*, wherein I find that the Gentlemen are aspersed with the intention of breaking through themselves, and leaving our Souldiers to the mercy of the Enemies Souldiers. It's true, that among many possible things proposed, there was something of like nature offered to consideration; but, I perswade my self, not intended by the person that motioned it: but most certain it is, that it was totally declined by all of us, and a quite contrary determination fixed, that whatsoever should happen we would receive no Conditions, but such whereby the common Souldier might have the advantage of us, nor would we divide our selves from them, in the most desperate cases that could happen.

Extra

ExtraEt from a scarce Pamphlet printed in 1648:

CONTAINING

An Account of Two great Fights at Colchester, on Monday morning last; the first between Generall LUCAS with a Party of Horse and Firelocks, against the Parliaments Forces, upon their sallying out upon their Guards: with the Particulars of the fight, their advancing to the Works, and playing their Ordnance upon the Lord Generals Horse, and the number killed and taken. The second, between the Colchesterian Shavers, and the Kentish men, against the Suffolk Forces, and the Lord Generals, upon their sallying out at Buttolphs Gate, and East Gate; with the numbers killed and taken, and the resolution of the Shavers concerning the ARMY.

JOYFULL NEWES

FROM

COLCHESTER;

Communicating the Resolutions and Proceedings of the Colchesterian Shavers, and their late fight with the Suffolk forces, upon their sallying out at the East Gate.

HONOURED SIR,

THIS morning the Colchesterian Shavers sallied out at the East Gate upon the Suffolk forces, who had intrenched themselves within musquet-shot of the Walls, and made their approach neer the Redout; but failing of their expectation (through a timely discovery) wheeled about, and fell upon a smal Guard neer the Eastern Sconce, which occasioned some time of dispute, but finding themselves too weak to maintain the encounter, retreated in a very disorderly manner, leaving many Armes and long sithes behind them. In which action divers were wounded on both sides, besides fifteen of the enemy left dead on the place, and seven of ours.

At the same time another party sallied out at Buttolphs Gate, who fell upon our Out-guards with great fury, doing

